

THE
WORKS
OF

Dr JONATHAN SWIFT,

Dean of ST PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

VOLUME IV.

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TRAVELS into several REMOTE NATIONS of the world.

By Lemuel Gulliver, first a Surgeon, and then a Captain of several ships.

In FOUR PARTS.

The PUBLISHER to the READER.

THE author of these travels, Mr. Lemuel Gulliver, is my antient and intimate friend; there is likewise some relation between us on the mother's side. About three years ago, Mr. Gulliver, growing weary of the concourse of curious people coming to him at his house in Redriff, made a small purchase of land with a convenient house near Newark in Nottinghamshire, his native country, where he now lives retired, yet in good esteem among his neighbours.

Although Mr. Gulliver was born in Nottinghamshire, where his father dwelt, yet I have heard him say, his family came from Oxfordshire; to confirm which, I have observed in the church-yard at Banbury, in that county, several tombs and monuments of the Gullivers.

Before he quitted Redriff, he left the custody of the following papers in my hands, with the liberty to dispose of them as I should think fit. I have carefully perused them three times: the style is very plain and simple; and the only fault I find is, that the author, after the manner of travellers, is a little too circumstantial. There is an air of truth apparent through the whole; and indeed the author was so distinguished for his veracity, that it became a sort of a proverb among his neighbours at Redriff, when any one affirmed a thing, to say it was as true as if Mr. Gulliver had spoken it.

By the advice of several worthy persons, to whom, with the author's permission, I communicated these papers, I

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now

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now venture to send them into the world, hoping they may be, at least for some time, a better entertainment to our young noblemen, than the common scribbles of politics and party.

This volume would have been at least twice as large, if I had not made bold to strike out innumerable passages relating to the winds and tides, as well as to the variations and bearings in the several voyages, together with the minute descriptions of the management of the ship in storms in the style of sailors; likewise the account of longitudes and latitudes; wherein I have reason to apprehend, that Mr. Gulliver may be a little dissatisfied: but I was resolved to fit the work as much as possible to the general capacity of readers. However, if my own ignorance in sea affairs shall have led me to commit some mistakes, I alone am answerable for them: and if any traveller hath a curiosity to see the whole work at large, as it came from the hand of the author, I will be ready to gratify him.

As for any further particulars relating to the author, the reader will receive satisfaction from the first pages of the book.

RICHARD SYMPSON.

A LETTER from Capt. GULLIVER to his cousin SYMPSON.

Written in the year 1727.

I HOPE you will be ready to own publicly, whenever you shall be called to it, that by your great and frequent urgency, you prevailed on me to publish a very loose and uncorrect account of my travels, with direction to hire some young gentleman of either university to put them in order, and correct the style, as my cousin Dampier did by my advice, in his book called, *A voyage round the world*. But I do not remember I gave you power to consent, that any thing should be omitted, and much less that any thing should be inserted: therefore, as to the latter, I do here renounce every thing of that kind; particularly a paragraph about her majesty queen Anne, of most pious and glorious memory; although I did reverence and esteem her more than any of human species. But you, or your interpolator, ought to have considered, that as it was not my inclination, so was it not decent to praise any animal of our composition before my master Houyhnhnm; and besides, the fact was altogether false; for to my knowledge, being in England during some part of her majesty's reign, she did govern by a chief minister; nay even by two successively, the first whereof was the lord of Godolphin, and the second the lord of Oxford; so that you have made me *say the thing that was not*. Likewise, in the account of the academy of projectors, and several passages of my discourse to my master Houyhnhnm, you have either omitted some material circumstances, or minced or changed them in such a manner, that I do hardly know mine own work. When I formerly hinted to you something of this in a letter, you were pleased to answer, that you were afraid of giving offence; that people in power were very watchful over the press, and apt not only to interpret, but to punish every thing which looked like an Innuendo (as I think you call it.) But, pray how could that which I spoke so many years ago, and at above

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five thousand leagues distance, in another reign, be applied to any of the Yahoos, who now are said to govern the herd; especially at a time when I little thought on, or feared, the unhappiness of living under them? have not I the most reason to complain, when I see these very Yahoos carried by Houyhnhnms in a vehicle, as if these were brutes and those the rational creatures? and indeed, to avoid so monstrous and detestable a sight was one principal motive of my retirement hither.

Thus much I thought proper to tell you in relation to yourself, and to the trust I reposed in you.

I do in the next place complain of my own great want of judgment, in being prevailed upon by the intreaties and false reasonings of you and some others, very much against my own opinion, to suffer my travels to be published. Pray bring to your mind how often I desired you to consider, when you insisted on the motive of *publick good*, that the Yahoos were a species of animals utterly incapable of amendment by precepts or example: and so it hath proved; for, instead of seeing a full stop put to all abuses and corruptions, at least in this little island, as I had reason to expect; behold, after above six months warning, I cannot learn that my book has produced one single effect according to mine intentions. I desired you would let me know by a letter, when party and faction were extinguished; judges learned and upright; pleaders honest and modest, with some tincture of common sense, and Smithfield blazing with pyramids of law-books; the young nobility's education entirely changed; the physicians banished; the female Yahoos abounding in virtue, honour, truth, and good sense; courts and levees of great ministers thoroughly weeded and swept; wit, merit, and learning rewarded; all disgracers of the press in prose and verse, condemned to eat nothing but their own cotton, and quench their thirst with their own ink. These, and a thousand other reformatations, I firmly counted upon by your encouragement; as indeed they were plainly deducible from the precepts delivered in my book. And it must be owned, that seven months were a sufficient time to correct every vice and folly to which Yahoos are subject, if their natures had been capable of the least disposition to virtue or wisdom: yet, so far have you

you been from answering mine expectation in any of your letters; that on the contrary you are loading our carrier every week with libels, and keys, and reflections, and memoirs, and second parts; wherein I see myself accused of reflecting upon great states-folk; of degrading human nature (for so they have still the confidence to stile it) and of abusing the female sex. I find likewise, that the writers of those bundles are not agreed among themselves; for some of them will not allow me to be the author of mine own travels; and others make me author of books, to which I am wholly a stranger.

I find likewise, that your printer hath been so careless as to confound the times, and mistake the dates of my several voyages and returns; neither assigning the true year, nor the true month, nor day of the month: and I hear the original manuscript is all destroyed since the publication of my book; neither have I any copy left; however, I have sent you some corrections, which you may insert, if ever there should be a second edition: and yet I cannot stand to them; but shall leave that matter to my judicious and candid readers to adjust it as they please.

I hear some of our sea-Yahoos find fault with my sea-language, as not proper in many parts, nor now in use. I cannot help it. In my first voyages, while I was young, I was instructed by the oldest mariners, and learned to speak as they did. But I have since found that the sea-Yahoos are apt, like the land ones, to become newfangled in their words, which the latter change every year; insomuch, as I remember upon each return to mine own country, their old dialect was so altered, that I could hardly understand the new. And I observe, when any Yahoo comes from London, out of curiosity to visit me at mine own house, we neither of us are able to deliver our conceptions in a manner intelligible to the other.

If the censure of the Yahoos could any way affect me, I should have great reason to complain, that some of them are so bold as to think my book of travels a mere fiction out of mine own brain; and have gone so far as to drop hints, that the Houyhnhnms and Yahoos have no more existence than the inhabitants of Utopia.

Indeed I must confess, that as to the people of Lilliput, Brobdingrag (for so the word should have been spelt, and not

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erroneously Brobdingnag) and Laputa, I have never yet heard of any Yahoo so presumptuous as to dispute their being, or the facts, I have related concerning them; because the truth immediately strikes every reader with conviction. And is there less probability in my account of the Houyhnhnms or Yahoos, when it is manifest as to the latter, there are so many thousands, even in this city, who only differ from their brother brutes, in Houyhnhnm-land, because they use a sort of Jabber, and do not go naked? I wrote for their amendment, and not their approbation. The united praise of the whole race would be of less consequence to me, than the neighing of those two degenerate Houyhnhnms I keep in my stable; because from these, degenerate as they are, I still improve in some virtues without any mixture of vice.

Do these miserable animals presume to think, that I am so degenerated as to defend my veracity? Yahoo as I am, it is well known through all Houyhnhnm-land, that, by the instructions and example of my illustrious master, I was able in the compass of two years (although I confess with the utmost difficulty) to remove that infernal habit of lying, shuffling, deceiving, and equivocating, so deeply rooted in the very souls of all my species; especially the Europeans.

I have other complaints to make upon this vexatious occasion; but I forbear troubling myself or you any further. I must freely confess, that since my last return some corruptions of my Yahoo nature have revived in me by conversing with a few of your species, and particularly those of mine own family, by an unavoidable necessity; else I should never have attempted so absurd a project as that of reforming the Yahoo race in this kingdom: but I have now done with all such visionary schemes for ever.

April 2, 1727.

* * That the original copy of these travels was altered by the person, through whose hands it was conveyed to the press, is a fact; but the passages, of which Mr. Gulliver complains in this letter, are to be found only in the first editions; for the
Dean

Dean having restored the text wherever it had been altered, sent the copy to the late Mr. Motte, by the hands of Mr. Charles Ford. This copy has been exactly followed in every subsequent edition, except that printed in Ireland, by George Falkener; the editor of which, supposing the Dean to be serious when he mentioned the corruptions of dates, and yet finding them unaltered, thought fit to alter them himself; there is however scarce one of these alterations, in which he has not committed a blunder; though while he was thus busy in defacing the parts that were perfect, he suffered the accidental blemishes of others to remain. *Hawkes*.—See the preface to this edition.

TRAVELS

TRAVELS into several REMOTE NATIONS of the world*.

P A R T I.

A VOYAGE to LILLIPUT.

C H A P. I.

The author gives some account of himself and family: his first inducements to travel. He is shipwrecked, and swims for his life; gets safe on shore in the country of Lilliput: is made a prisoner, and carried up the country.

MY father had a small estate in Nottinghamshire; I was the third of five sons. He sent me to Emanuel college in Cambridge at fourteen years old, where I resided three years, and applied myself close to my studies; but the charge of main-
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* These voyages are intended as a moral political romance, in which Swift seems to have exerted the strongest efforts of a fine irregular genius. But while his imagination and his wit delight, the venomous strokes of his satire, although in some places just, are carried into so universal a severity, that not only all human actions, but human nature itself, is placed in the worst light.—Perfection in every attribute is not indeed allotted to particular men. But, among the whole species, we discover such an assemblage of all the great and amiable virtues, as may convince us, that the original order of nature contains in it the greatest beauty. It is directed in a right line, but it deviates into curves and irregular motions, by various alterations and disturbing causes. Different qualifications shine out in different men: BACON and NEWTON (not to mention BOYLE) shew the divine extent of the human mind: of which power Swift could not be insensible; but his disappointments rendered him spleenetic, and angry with the whole world.—Education, habit, and constitution, give a surprising variety of characters; and
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taining me, although I had a very scanty allowance, being too great for a narrow fortune, I was bound apprentice to Mr. James Bates, an eminent surgeon in London, with whom I continued four years; and my father now and then sending me small sums of money, I laid them out in learning navigation, and other parts of the mathematics, useful to those who intend to travel, as I always believed it would be some time or other my fortune to do. When I left Mr. Bates, I went down to my father; where, by the assistance of him and my uncle John, and some o-

while they produce some particular qualities, are apt to check others. Fortitude of mind seldom attends a sedentary life: nor is the man whose ambitious views are crossed, scarce ever afterwards endued with benevolence of heart. The same mind that is capable of exerting the greatest virtue, by some defect in the first steps of education often degenerates into the greatest vice. These effects take their source from causes almost mechanical. The soul, in our present situation, is blended and inclosed with corporeal substance, and the matter of which our body is composed, produces strange impulses upon the mind.—To correct vice, by shewing her deformity, in opposition to the beauty of virtue, and to amend the false systems of philosophy, by pointing out the errors, and applying salutary means to avoid them, is a noble design, and was, I would fain flatter myself, the general intent of this hieroglyphic writer.—Gulliver's travels are chiefly to be looked upon as an irregular essay of Swift's peculiar wit and humour. The inhabitants of Lilliput are represented, as if reflected from a concave mirror, by which every object is reduced to a despicable minuteness. The inhabitants of Brobdingnag, by a contrary mirror, are enlarged to a shocking deformity. In Lilliput we behold a set of puny insects, or animalcules in human shape, ridiculously engaged in affairs of importance. In Brobdingnag the monsters of enormous size are employed in trifles.—In the two first parts there are many ridiculous adventures, even such as must have excited mirth from Heraclitus. Where indelicacies do not intervene, the narrative is very entertaining and humorous. In some parts, Gulliver seems to have had particular incidents, if not particular persons in his view. His observations on education are useful: and so are his improvements on the institutions of Lycurgus. *Errery.*

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ther relations, I got forty pounds, and a promise of thirty pounds a-year to maintain me at Leyden : there I studied physick two years and seven months, knowing it would be useful in long voyages.

Soon after my return from Leyden, I was recommended by my good master Mr. Bates to be surgeon to the Swallow, Captain Abraham Pannell, commander ; with whom I continued three years and a half, making a voyage or two into the Levant, and some other parts. When I came back, I resolved to settle in London ; to which Mr. Bates, my master, encouraged me, and by him I was recommended to several patients. I took part of a small house in the Old-Jury ; and being advised to alter my condition, I married Mrs. Mary Burton, second daughter to Mr. Edmund Burton hosier in Newgate-street, with whom I received four hundred pounds for a portion.

But, my good master Bates dying in two years after, and I having few friends, my business began to fail ; for my conscience would not suffer me to imitate the bad practice of too many among my brethren. Having therefore consulted with my wife, and some of my acquaintance, I determined to go again to sea. I was surgeon successively in two ships, and made several voyages for six years to the East and West Indies, by which I got some addition to my fortune. My hours of leisure I spent in reading the best authors, ancient and modern, being always provided with a good number of books ; and when I was ashore, in observing the manners and dispositions of the people, as well as learning their language, wherein I had a great facility by the strength of my memory.

The last of these voyages not proving very fortunate, I grew weary of the sea, and intended to stay at home with my wife and family. I removed from the Old-Jury to Fetter-lane, and from thence to Wapping, hoping to get business among the sailors ; but it would not turn to account. After three years expectation that things would mend, I accepted an advantageous offer from Capt. William Prichard, master of the Antelope, who was making a voyage to the South-Sea. We set sail from Bristol, May 4. 1699 ; and our voyage at first was very prosperous.

It would not be proper, for some reasons, to trouble the reader with the particulars of our adventures in those

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seas. Let it suffice to inform him, that, in our passage from thence to the East-Indies, we were driven by a violent storm to the north-west of Van Diemen's land. By an observation we found ourselves in the latitude of 30 degrees 2 minutes south. Twelve of our crew were dead by immoderate labour, and ill food; the rest were in a very weak condition. On the 5th of November, which was the beginning of summer in those parts, the weather being very hazy, the seamen spied a rock within half a cable's length of the ship; but the wind was so strong, that we were driven directly upon it, and immediately split. Six of the crew, of whom I was one, having let down the boat into the sea, made a shift to get clear of the ship and the rock. We rowed by my computation about three leagues, till we were able to work no longer, being already spent with labour while we were in the ship. We therefore trusted ourselves to the mercy of the waves, and in about half an hour the boat was overfet by a sudden flurry from the north. What became of my companions in the boat, as well as of those who escaped on the rock, or were left in the vessel, I cannot tell; but conclude they were all lost. For my own part, I swam as fortune directed me, and was pushed forward by wind and tide. I often let my legs drop, and could feel no bottom: but when I was almost gone, and able to struggle no longer, I found myself within my depth; and by this time the storm was much abated. The declivity was so small, that I walked near a mile before I got to the shore, which I conjectured was about eight o'clock in the evening. I then advanced forward near half a mile, but could not discover any sign of houses or inhabitants; at least I was in so weak a condition, that I did not observe them. I was extremely tired, and with that, and the heat of the weather, and about half a pint of brandy that I drank as I left the ship, I found myself much inclined to sleep. I lay down on the grass, which was very short and soft, where I slept sounder than ever I remembered to have done in my life, and, as I reckoned, about nine hours; for when I awaked, it was just day-light. I attempted to rise, but was not able to stir: for as I happened to lie on my back, I found my arms and legs were strongly fastened on each side to the ground; and my hair which was long
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and thick, tied down in the same manner, I likewise felt several slender ligatures across my body, from my arm-pits to my thighs. I could only look upwards, the sun began to grow hot, and the light offended my eyes. I heard a confused noise about me ; but, in the posture I lay, could see nothing except the sky. In a little time I felt something alive moving on my left leg, which advancing gently forward over my breast came almost up to my chin ; when bending my eyes downward as much as I could, I perceived it to be a human creature not six inches high, with a bow and arrow in his hands, and a quiver at his back. In the mean time, I felt at least forty more of the same kind (as I conjectured) following the first. I was in the utmost astonishment, and roared so loud, that they all ran back in a fright ; and some of them, as I was afterwards told, were hurt with the falls they got by leaping from my sides upon the ground. However, they soon returned, and one of them, who ventured so far as to get a full sight of my face, lifting up his hands and eyes by way of admiration, cried out in a shrill but distinct voice, *Hekinah degul* : the others repeated the same words several times, but I then knew not what they meant. I lay all this while, as the reader may believe, in great uneasiness ; at length struggling to get loose, I had the fortune to break the strings, and wrench out the pegs, that fastened my left arm to the ground ; for, by lifting it up to my face, I discovered the methods they had taken to bind me, and at the same time with a violent pull, which gave me excessive pain, I a little loosened the strings that tied down my hair on the left side, so that I was just able to turn my head about two inches. But the creatures ran off a second time before I could seize them ; whereupon there was a great shout in a very shrill accent, and after it ceased, I heard one of them cry aloud, *Tolgo phonac* ; when in an instant I felt above an hundred arrows discharged on my left hand, which pricked me like so many needles ; and besides, they shot another flight into the air, as we do bombs in Europe, whereof many, I suppose, fell on my body, (though I felt them not) and some on my face, which I immediately covered with my left hand. When this shower of arrows was over, I fell a groaning with grief and pain, and then striving again to get loose, they discharged
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another volley larger than the first, and some of them attempted with spears to stick me in the sides ; but by good luck I had on me a buff jerkin, which they could not pierce. I thought it the most prudent method to lie still, and my design was to continue so till night, when, my left hand being already loose, I could easily free myself : and as for the inhabitants, I had reason to believe I might be a match for the greatest army they could bring against me, if they were all of the same size with him, that I saw. But fortune disposed otherways of me. When the people observed I was quiet, they discharged no more arrows : but, by the noise I heard, I knew their numbers increased ; and about four yards from me, over-against my right ear, I heard a knocking for above an hour, like that of people at work : when turning my head that way, as well as the pegs and strings would permit me, I saw a stage erected about a foot and a half from the ground, capable of holding four of the inhabitants, with two or three ladders to mount it : from whence one of them, who seemed to be a person of quality, made me a long speech, whereof I understood not one syllable. But I should have mentioned, that before the principal person began his oration, he cried out three times *Langro dehul san* : (these words and the former were afterwards repeated and explained to me). Whereupon immediately about fifty of the inhabitants came and cut the strings that fastened the left side of my head, which gave me the liberty of turning it to the right, and of observing the person and gesture of him that was to speak. He appeared to be of a middle age, and taller than any of the other three who attended him, whereof one was a page that held up his train, and seemed to be somewhat longer than my middle finger, the other two stood one on each side to support him. He acted every part of an orator, and I could observe many periods of threatnings, and others of promises, pity, and kindness. I answered in a few words, but in the most submissive manner, lifting up my left hand and both my eyes to the sun, as calling him for a witness ; and being almost famished with hunger, having not eaten a morsel for some hours before I left the ship, I found the demands of nature so strong upon me, that I could not forbear shewing my impatience (perhaps against the strict rules of de-

gency) by putting my finger frequently to my mouth, to signify that I wanted food. The *Hurgo* (for so they call a great lord, as I afterwards learned) understood me very well. He descended from the stage, and commanded that several ladders should be applied to my sides, on which above an hundred of the inhabitants mounted, and walked towards my mouth, laden with baskets full of meat, which had been provided and sent thither by the King's orders, upon the first intelligence he received of me. I observed there was the flesh of several animals, but could not distinguish them by the taste. There were shoulders, legs, and loins, shaped like those of mutton, and very well dressed, but smaller than the wings of a lark. I eat them by two or three at a mouthful, and took three loaves at a time about the bigness of musket bullets. They supplied me as fast as they could, shewing a thousand marks of wonder and astonishment at my bulk and appetite. I then made another sign, that I wanted drink. They found by my eating, that a small quantity would not suffice me, and being a most ingenious people, they slung up with great dexterity one of their largest hogheads, then rolled it towards my hand, and beat out the top; I drank it off at a draught, which I might well do, for it did not hold half a pint, and tasted like a small wine of Burgundy, but much more delicious. They brought me a second hoghead, which I drank in the same manner, and made signs for more; but they had none to give me. When I had performed these wonders, they shouted for joy, and danced upon my breast, repeating several times, as they did at first, *Hekinah degul*. They made me a sign that I should throw down the two hogheads, but first warning the people below to stand out of the way, crying aloud, *Bo-rach mevola*, and when they saw the vessels in the air, there was an universal shout of *Hekinah degul*. I confess, I was often tempted, while they were passing backwards and forwards on my body, to seize forty or fifty of the first that came in my reach, and dash them against the ground. But the remembrance of what I had felt, which probably might not be the worst they could do, and the promise of honour I made them, for so I interpreted my submissive behaviour, soon drove out these imaginations. Besides, I now considered myself as bound by the laws of

hospitality

hospitality to a people, who had treated me with so much expence and magnificence. However, in my thoughts I could not sufficiently wonder at the intrepidity of these diminutive mortals, who durst venture to mount and walk upon my body, while one of my hands was at liberty, without trembling at the very sight of so prodigious a creature, as I must appear to them. After some time, when they observed that I made no more demands for meat, there appeared before me a person of high rank from his Imperial Majesty. His Excellency, having mounted on the small of my right leg, advanced forwards up to my face, with about a dozen of his retinue. And producing his credentials under the signet royal, which he applied close to my eyes, spoke about ten minutes without any signs of anger, but with a kind of determinate resolution, often pointing forwards; which, as I afterwards found, was towards the capital city, about half a mile distant, whither it was agreed by his majesty in council that I must be conveyed. I answered in few words, but to no purpose, and made a sign with my hand that was loose, putting it to the other (but over his excellency's head, for fear of hurting him or his train) and then to my own head and body, to signify that I desired my liberty. It appeared, that he understood me well enough, for he shook his head by way of disapprobation, and held his hand in a posture to shew, that I must be carried as a prisoner. However, he made other signs to let me understand, that I should have meat and drink enough, and very good treatment. Whereupon I once more thought of attempting to break my bonds, but again, when I felt the smart of their arrows upon my face and hands, which were all in blisters, and many of the darts still sticking in them, and observing likewise that the number of my enemies increased, I gave tokens to let them know, that they might do with me what they pleased. Upon this the *Hurgo* and his train withdrew, with much civility, and chearful countenances. Soon after I heard a general shout, with frequent repetitions of the words, *Peplom selan*, and I felt great numbers of people on my left side, relaxing the cords to such a degree that I was able to turn upon my right, and to ease myself with making water; which I very plentifully did, to the great astonishment of the people, who conjecturing,

by my motion, what I was going to do, immediately opened to the right and left on that side, to avoid the torrent which fell with such noise and violence from me. But before this, they had daubed my face and both my hands with a sort of ointment very pleasant to the smell, which in a few minutes removed all the smart of their arrows. These circumstances, added to the refreshment I had received by their victuals and drink, which were very nourishing, disposed me to sleep. I slept about eight hours, as I was afterwards assured; and it was no wonder, for the physicians, by the Emperor's order, had mingled a sleepy potion in the hogsheds of wine.

It seems that, upon the first moment I was discovered, sleeping on the ground after my landing, the Emperor had early notice of it by an express; and determined in council, that I should be tied in the manner I have related, (which was done in the night while I slept) that plenty of meat and drink should be sent to me, and a machine prepared to carry me to the capital city.

This resolution perhaps may appear very bold and dangerous, and I am confident would not be imitated by any prince in Europe on the like occasion; however, in my opinion, it was extremely prudent, as well as generous, for supposing those people had endeavoured to kill me with their spears and arrows while I was asleep, I should certainly have awaked with the first sense of smart, which might so far have roused my rage and strength, as to have enabled me to break the strings, wherewith I was tied; after which, as they were not able to make resistance, so they could expect no mercy.

These people are most excellent mathematicians, and arrived to a great perfection in mechanics by the countenance and encouragement of the Emperor, who is a renowned patron of learning. This prince hath several machines fixed on wheels for the carriage of trees and other great weights. He often builds his largest men of war, whereof some are nine feet long, in the woods where the timber grows, and has them carried on these engines three or four hundred yards to the sea. Five hundred carpenters and engineers were immediately set at work to prepare the greatest engine they had. It was a frame of wood raised three inches from the ground, about seven feet long and

Chap. I. A VOYAGE TO LILLIPUT. 19

and four wide, moving upon twenty-two wheels. The shout I heard was upon the arrival of this engine, which it seems set out in four hours after my landing. It was brought parallel to me, as I lay. But the principal difficulty was to raise and place me in this vehicle. Eighty poles, each of one foot high, were erected for this purpose, and very strong cords of the bigness of packthread were fastened by hooks to many bandages, which the workmen had girt round my neck, my hands, my body, and my legs. Nine hundred of the strongest men were employed to draw up these cords by many pullies fastened on the poles, and thus, in less than three hours, I was raised and slung into the engine, and there tied fast. All this I was told, for, while the whole operation was performing, I lay in a profound sleep by the force of that soporiferous medicine infused into my liquor. Fifteen hundred of the Emperor's largest horses, each about four inches and an half high, were employed to draw me towards the metropolis, which, as I said, was half a mile distant.

About four hours after we began our journey, I awaked by a very ridiculous accident; for the carriage being stopt a while, to adjust something, that was out of order, two or three of the young natives had the curiosity to see how I looked, when I was asleep; they climbed up into the engine, and advancing very softly to my face, one of them, an officer in the guards, put the sharp end of his half-pike a good way up into my left nostril, which tickled my nose like a straw, and made me sneeze violently*: whereupon they stole off unperceived, and it was three weeks before I knew the cause of my awaking so suddenly. We

* It has been remarked, that courage in whatever cause, though it sometimes excites indignation, is never the object of contempt; but this appears to be true, only because courage is supposed to imply superiority: for this officer in the guards becomes extremely ridiculous and contemptible, by an act of the most daring curiosity, which sets him in comparison with Gulliver; to whom he was so much inferior, that a blast of the *man-mountain's* nostrils would have endangered his life; and if heroism itself is not proof against ridicule, those surely are Lilliputians in philosophy, who consider ridicule as the test of truth. *Hawkes.*

made a long march the remaining part of the day, and rested at night with five hundred guards on each side of me, half with torches, and half with bows and arrows, ready to shoot me, if I should offer to stir. The next morning at sun-rise we continued our march, and arrived within two hundred yards of the city-gates about noon. The Emperor, and all his court, came out to meet us, but his great officers would by no means suffer his Majesty to endanger his person by mounting on my body.

At the place where the carriage stopt, there stood an ancient temple, esteemed to be the largest in the whole kingdom, which, having been polluted some years before by an unnatural murder, was according to the zeal of those people looked upon as profane, and therefore had been applied to common use, and all the ornaments and furniture carried away. In this edifice it was determined I should lodge. The great gate, fronting to the north, was about four feet high, and almost two feet wide, through which I could easily creep. On each side of the gate was a small window, not above six inches from the ground: into that on the left side the King's smith conveyed fourscore and eleven chains, like those that hang to a lady's watch in Europe, and almost as large, which were locked to my left leg with six and thirty padlocks. Over-against this temple, on the other side of the great highway, at twenty feet distance, there was a turret at least five feet high. Here the Emperor ascended with many principal lords of his court to have an opportunity of viewing me, as I was told, for I could not see them. It was reckoned, that above an hundred thousand inhabitants came out of the town upon the same errand; and, in spite of my guards, I believe, there could not be fewer than ten thousand at several times, who mounted my body by the help of ladders. But a proclamation was soon issued to forbid it upon pain of death. When the workmen found it was impossible for me to break loose, they cut all the strings that bound me; whereupon I rose up with as melancholy a disposition, as ever I had in my life. But the noise and astonishment of the people at seeing me rise and walk are not to be expressed. The chains, that held my left leg, were about two yards long, and gave me not only the liberty of walking backwards

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and forwards in a semicircle; but being fixed within four inches of the gate, allowed me to creep in, and lie at my full length in the temple.

C H A P. II.

The Emperor of Lilliput, attended by several of the nobility, comes to see the author in his confinement. The Emperor's person and habit described. Learned men appointed to teach the author their language. He gains favour by his mild disposition. His pockets are searched, and his sword and pistols taken from him.

WHEN I found myself on my feet, I looked about me, and must confess I never beheld a more entertaining prospect. The country around appeared like a continued garden, and the inclosed fields, which were generally forty feet square, resembled so many beds of flowers. These fields were intermingled with woods of half a stang*, and the tallest trees, as I could judge, appeared to be seven feet high. I viewed the town on my left hand, which looked like the painted scene of a city in a theatre.

I had been for some hours extremely pressed by the necessities of nature; which was no wonder, it being almost two days since I had last disburdened myself. I was under great difficulties between urgency and shame. The best expedient I could think on, was to creep into my house, which I accordingly did; and shutting the gate after me, I went as far as the length of my chain would suffer, and discharged my body of that uneasy load. But this was the only time I was ever guilty of so uncleanly an action; for which I cannot but hope the candid reader will give some allowance, after he hath maturely and impartially considered my case, and the distress I was in. From this time my constant practice was, as soon as I rose, to perform that business in open air at the full extent of my chain; and due care was taken every morning, before company came, that the offensive matter should

* A stang is a pole or perch; sixteen feet and an half. *Hawkes.*

be carried off in wheel-barrows by two servants appointed for that purpose. I would not have dwelt so long upon a circumstance, that perhaps at first sight may appear not very momentous, if I had not thought it necessary to justify my character in point of cleanliness to the world; which I am told some of my maligners have been pleased, upon this and other occasions, to call in question.

When this adventure was at an end, I came back out of my house, having occasion for fresh air. The Emperor was already descended from the tower, and advancing on horse-back towards me, which had like to have cost him dear; for the beast, though very well trained, yet wholly unused to such a sight, which appeared as if a mountain moved before him, reared up on his hinder feet: but that prince, who is an excellent horseman, kept his seat, till his attendants ran in, and held the bridle, while his majesty had time to dismount. When he alighted, he surveyed me round with great admiration; but kept beyond the length of my chain. He ordered his cooks and butlers, who were already prepared, to give me victuals and drink, which they pushed forward in a sort of vehicles upon wheels, till I could reach them. I took these vehicles, and soon emptied them all; twenty of them were filled with meat, and ten with liquor; each of the former afforded me two or three good mouthfuls; and I emptied the liquor of ten vessels, which was contained in earthen vials, into one vehicle, drinking it off at a draught; and so I did with the rest. The Empress, and young princes of the blood of both sexes, attended by many ladies, sat at some distance in their chairs; but upon the accident that happened to the Emperor's horse, they alighted, and came near his person, which I am now going to describe. He is taller by almost the breadth of my nail, than any of his court, which alone is enough to strike an awe into the beholders. His features are strong and masculine, with an Austrian lip and arched nose, his complexion olive, his countenance erect, his body and limbs well proportioned, all his motions graceful, and his deportment majestic. He was then past his prime, being twenty-eight years and three quarters old, of which he had reigned about seven in great felicity, and generally victorious. For the better convenience of beholding him I lay on my side,

so that my face was parallel to his, and he stood but three yards off: however, I have had him since many times in my hand, and therefore cannot be deceived in the description. His dress was very plain and simple, and the fashion of it between the *Asiatic* and the *European*: but he had on his head a light helmet of gold, adorned with jewels, and a plume on the crest. He held his sword drawn in his hand to defend himself, if I should happen to break loose †; it was almost three inches long; the hilt and scabbard were gold enriched with diamonds. His voice was shrill, but very clear and articulate, and I could distinctly hear it, when I stood up. The ladies and courtiers were all most magnificently clad, so that the spot they stood upon seemed to resemble a petticoat spread on the ground, embroidered with figures of gold and silver. His imperial majesty spoke often to me, and I returned answers; but neither of us could understand a syllable. There were several of his priests and lawyers present, (as I conjectured by their habits) who were commanded to address themselves to me, and I spoke to them in as many languages as I had the least smattering of, which were *High* and *Low Dutch*, *Latin*, *French*, *Spanish*, *Italian*, and *Lingua Franca*; but all to no purpose. After about two hours the court retired, and I was left with a strong guard to prevent the impertinence, and probably the malice of the rabble, who were very impatient to crowd about me as near as they durst, and some of them had the impudence to shoot their arrows at me, as I sat on the ground by the door of my house, whereof one very narrowly missed my left eye. But the colonel ordered six of the ring-leaders to be seized, and thought no punishment so proper, as to deliver them bound into

† The masculine strength of features, which Gulliver could not see, till he laid his face upon the ground; and the awful superiority of stature in a being, whom he held in his hand; the helmet, the plume, and the sword, are a fine reproof of human pride; the objects of which are trifling distinctions, whether of person or rank; the ridiculous parade and ostentation of a pigmy, which derive not only their origin, but their use, from the folly, weakness, and imperfection of ourselves and others. *Hawkes*.

my hands, which some of his soldiers accordingly did, pushing them forwards with the but-ends of their pikes into my reach : I took them all on my right hand, put five of them into my coat-pocket, and as to the sixth, I made a countenance as if I would eat him alive. The poor man squalled terribly, and the colonel and his officers were in much pain, especially when they saw me take out my penknife: but I soon put them out of fear; for, looking mildly, and immediately cutting the strings he was bound with, I set him gently on the ground, and away he ran. I treated the rest in the same manner, taking them one by one out of my pocket; and I observed both the soldiers and people were highly delighted at this mark of my clemency, which was represented very much to my advantage at court.

Towards night I got with some difficulty into my house, where I lay on the ground, and continued to do so about a fortnight; during which time the Emperor gave orders to have a bed prepared for me. Six hundred beds of the common measure were brought in carriages, and worked up in my house; an hundred and fifty of their beds, sewn together, made up the breadth and length; and these were four double, which however kept me but very indifferently from the hardness of the floor, that was of smooth stone. By the same computation they provided me with sheets, blankets, and coverlets, tolerable enough for one, who had been so long inured to hardships*.

As the news of my arrival spread through the kingdom, it brought prodigious numbers of rich, idle, and curious people to see me; so that the villages were almost emptied; and great neglect of tillage and household

* Gulliver has observed great exactness in the just proportion and appearances of the several objects thus lessened and magnified. But he dwells too much upon these optical deceptions. The mind is tired with a repetition of them, especially as he points out no beauty nor use in such amazing discoveries, which might have been so continued as to have afforded improvement, at the same time that they gave astonishment. He too often shews an indelicacy that is not agreeable, and exerts his vein of humour most improperly in some places, where, I am afraid, he glances at religion. *Orrery.*

affairs must have ensued, if his Imperial Majesty had not provided by several proclamations and orders of state against this inconveniency. He directed, that those, who had already beheld me, should return home, and not presume to come within fifty yards of my house, without licence from court; whereby the secretaries of state got considerable fees.

In the mean time, the Emperor held frequent councils to debate, what course should be taken with me; and I was afterwards assured by a particular friend, a person of great quality, who was as much in the secret as any, that the court was under many difficulties concerning me. They apprehended my breaking loose; that my diet would be very expensive, and might cause a famine. Sometimes they determined to starve me, or at least to shoot me in the face and hands with poisoned arrows, which would soon dispatch me; but again they considered, that the stench of so large a carcase might produce a plague in the metropolis, and probably spread through the whole kingdom. In the midst of these consultations, several officers of the army went to the door of the great council-chamber, and two of them being admitted, gave an account of my behaviour to the six criminals above-mentioned, which made so favourable an impression in the breast of his Majesty, and the whole board, in my behalf, that an Imperial commission was issued out, obliging all the villages nine hundred yards round the city to deliver in every morning six beeves, forty sheep, and other victuals for my sustenance; together with a proportionable quantity of bread and wine, and other liquors; for the due payment of which his majesty gave assignments upon his treasury. For this prince lives chiefly upon his own demesnes, seldom, except upon great occasions, raising any subsidies, upon his subjects, who are bound to attend him in his wars at their own expence. An establishment was also made of six hundred persons to be my domestics, who had board-wages allowed for their maintenance, and tents built for them very conveniently on each side of my door. It was likewise ordered, that three hundred taylors should make me a suit of cloaths after the fashion of the country: that six of his majesty's greatest scholars should be employed to instruct me in their language:

language : and lastly, that the Emperor's horses, and those of the nobility, and troops of guards, should be frequently exercised in my sight to accustom themselves to me. All these orders were duly put in execution, and in about three weeks I made a great progress in learning their language ; during which time the Emperor frequently honoured me with his visits, and was pleased to assist my masters in teaching me. We began already to converse together in some sort ; and the first words I learnt were to express my desire, that he would please to give me my liberty, which I every day repeated on my knees. His answer, as I could apprehend it, was, that this must be a work of time, not to be thought on without the advice of his council, and that first I must *lumos kelmin pessa desmar lon emposo* ; that is, swear a peace with him and his kingdom. However, that I should be used with all kindness ; and he advised me to acquire by my patience and discreet behaviour, the good opinion of himself and his subjects. He desired I would not take it ill, if he gave orders to certain proper officers to search me ; for probably I might carry about me several weapons, which must needs be dangerous things, if they answered the bulk of so prodigious a person. I said, his majesty should be satisfied ; for I was ready to strip myself, and turn up my pockets before him. This I delivered, part in words, and part in signs. He replied, that by the laws of the kingdom I must be searched by two of his officers ; that he knew this could not be done without my consent and assistance ; that he had so good an opinion of my generosity and justice, as to trust their persons in my hands : that whatever they took from me, should be returned when I left the country, or paid for at the rate which I would set upon them. I took up the two officers in my hands, put them first into my coat-pockets, and then into every other pocket about me, except my two sobs, and another secret pocket, which I had no mind should be searched, wherein I had some little necessaries, that were of no consequence to any but myself. In one of my sobs there was a silver watch, and in the other a small quantity of gold in a purse. These gentlemen, having pen, ink, and paper about them, made an exact inventory of every thing they saw ; and, when they had done, desired I would
 set

set them down, that they might deliver it to the Emperor. This inventory I afterwards translated into English, and is word for word as follows :

Imprimis, In the right coat-pocket of the great man-mountain (for so I interpret the words *Quinbus flestrin*) after the strictest search we found only one great piece of coarse cloth, large enough to be a foot-cloth for your Majesty's chief room of state. In the left pocket we saw a huge silver chest, with a cover of the same metal, which we the searchers were not able to lift. We desired it should be opened, and one of us stepping into it, found himself up to the mid leg in a sort of dust, some part whereof flying up to our faces, set us both a sneezing for several times together. In his right waistcoat-pocket we found a prodigious bundle of white thin substances, folded one over another, about the bigness of three men, tied with a strong cable, and marked with black figures ; which we humbly conceive to be writings, every letter almost half as large as the palm of our hands. In the left there was a sort of engine, from the back of which were extended twenty long poles, resembling the palisadoes before your Majesty's court ; wherewith we conjecture the man-mountain combs his head ; for we did not always trouble him with questions, because we found it a great difficulty to make him understand us. In the large pocket on the right side of his middle cover (so I translate the word *Ranfu-lo*, by which they meant my breeches) we saw a hollow pillar of iron, about the length of a man, fastened to a strong piece of timber, larger than the pillar ; and upon one side of the pillar were huge pieces of iron sticking out, cut into strange figures, which we know not what to make of. In the left pocket another engine of the same kind. In the smaller pocket on the right side were several round flat pieces of white and red metal of different bulk ; some of the white, which seemed to be silver, were so large and heavy, that my comrade and I could hardly lift them. In the left pocket were two black pillars irregularly shaped : we could not without difficulty reach the top of them, as we stood at the bottom of his pocket. One of them was covered, and seemed all of a piece : but at the upper end of the other there appeared a white round substance, about

twice the bigness of our heads. Within each of these was inclosed a prodigious plate of steel; which, by our orders, we obliged him to shew us, because we apprehended they might be dangerous engines. He took them out of their cases, and told us, that in his own country his practice was to shave his beard with one of these, and to cut his meat with the other. There were two pockets, which we could not enter: these he called his fobs; they were two large slits cut into the top of his middle cover, but squeezed close by the pressure of his belly. Out of the right fob hung a great silver chain with a wonderful kind of engine at the bottom. We directed him to draw out whatever was at the end of that chain; which appeared to be a globe, half silver, and half of some transparent metal: for on the transparent side we saw certain strange figures circularly drawn, and thought we could touch them, till we found our fingers stopped by that lucid substance. He put this engine to our ears, which made an incessant noise like that of a water-mill: and we conjecture it is either some unknown animal, or the god that he worships; but we are more inclined to the latter opinion, because he assured us (if we understood him right, for he expressed himself very imperfectly) that he seldom did any thing without consulting it. He called it his oracle, and said it pointed out the time for every action of his life*. From the left fob he took out a net almost large enough for a fisherman, but contrived to open and shut like a purse, and served him for the same use: we found therein several massy pieces of yellow metal, which, if they be real gold, must be of immense value.

Having thus, in obedience to your Majesty's commands, diligently searched all his pockets, we observed a girdle about his waist, made of the hide of some prodigious animal, from which on the left side hung a sword of the length of five men; and on the right a bag or pouch divided into two cells, each cell capable of holding three of your Majesty's subjects. In one of these cells

* Perhaps the author intended to expose the probable fallacy of opinions derived from the relations of travellers, by shewing, how little truth need to be misunderstood to make falsehood specious. *Hawkes.*

were several globes, or balls, of a most ponderous metal, about the bigness of our heads, and required a strong hand to lift them: the other cell contained a heap of certain black grains, but of no great bulk or weight, for we could hold above fifty of them in the palms of our hands.

This is an exact inventory of what we found about the body of the *man-mountain*, who used us with great civility, and due respect to your Majesty's commission. Signed and sealed, on the fourth day of the eighty-ninth moon of your Majesty's auspicious reign.

Glefrin Frelac, Marfi Frelac.

When this inventory was read over to the Emperor, he directed me, although in very gentle terms, to deliver up the several particulars. He first called for my scymiter, which I took out, scabbard and all. In the meantime he ordered three thousand of his choicest troops (who then attended him) to surround me at a distance, with their bows and arrows just ready to discharge: but I did not observe it, for mine eyes were wholly fixed upon his Majesty. He then desired me to draw my scymiter, which, although it had got some rust by the sea-water, was in most parts exceeding bright. I did so, and immediately all the troops gave a shout between terror and surprise; for the sun shone clear, and the reflection dazzled their eyes, as I waved the Scymiter to and fro in my hand. His Majesty, who is a most magnanimous prince †, was less daunted than I could expect; he ordered me to return it into the scabbard, and cast it on the ground as gently as I could, about six feet from the end of my chain. The next thing he demanded, was one of the hollow iron pillars; by which he meant my pocket-pistols. I drew it out, and, at his desire, as well as I could, expressed to him the use of it; and charging it only with powder, which by the closeness of my pouch happened to escape wetting in the sea (an inconvenience against

† He who does not find himself disposed to honour this magnanimity should reflect, that a right to judge of moral and intellectual excellence is, with great absurdity and injustice, arrogated by him who admires, in a being six feet high, any qualities that he despises in one, whose stature does not exceed six inches. *Hawkes.*

which all prudent mariners take special care to provide) I first cautioned the Emperor not to be afraid, and then I let it off in the air. The astonishment here was much greater than at the sight of my scymiter. Hundreds fell down, as if they had been struck dead; and even the Emperor, although he stood his ground, could not recover himself in some time. I delivered up both my pistols in the same manner, as I had done my scymiter, and then my pouch of powder and bullets; begging him that the former might be kept from fire, for it would kindle with the smallest spark, and blow up his imperial palace into the air. I likewise delivered up my watch, which the Emperor was very curious to see, and commanded two of his tallest yeomen of the guards, to bear it on a pole upon their shoulders, as dray-men in England do a barrel of ale. He was amazed at the continual noise it made, and the motion of the minute-hand, which he could easily discern; for their sight is much more acute than ours: he asked the opinions of his learned men about it, which were various and remote, as the reader may well imagine without my repeating; although indeed I could not very perfectly understand them. I then gave up my silver and copper money, my purse with nine large pieces of gold, and some smaller ones; my knife and razor, my comb and silver snuff-box, my handkerchief and journal-book. My scymiter, pistols, and pouch were conveyed in carriages to his Majesty's stores; but the rest of my goods were returned me.

I had, as I before observed, one private pocket, which escaped their search, wherein there was a pair of spectacles (which I sometimes use for the weakness of mine eyes) a pocket perspective, and some other little conveniences; which being of no consequence to the Emperor, I did not think myself bound in honour to discover, and I apprehended they might be lost or spoiled, if I ventured them out of my possession.

C H A P. III.

The author diverts the Emperor and his nobility of both sexes in a very uncommon manner. The diversions of the court of Lilliput described. The author hath his liberty granted him upon certain conditions.

MY gentleness and good behaviour had gained so far on the Emperor and his court, and indeed upon the army, and people in general, that I began to conceive hopes of getting my liberty in a short time. I took all possible methods to cultivate this favourable disposition. The natives came by degrees to be less apprehensive of any danger from me. I would sometimes lie down, and let five or six of them dance on my hand: and at last the boys and girls would venture to come and play at hide and seek in my hair. I had now made a good progress in understanding and speaking their language. The Emperor had a mind one day to entertain me with several of the country shows, wherein they exceed all nations I have known, both for dexterity and magnificence. I was diverted with none so much, as that of the rope-dancers, performed upon a slender white thread, extended about two feet and twelve inches from the ground. Upon which I shall desire liberty, with the reader's patience, to enlarge a little.

This diversion is only practised by those persons, who are candidates for great employments, and high favour at court. They are trained in this art from their youth, and are not always of noble birth, or liberal education. When a great office is vacant either by death or disgrace (which often happens) five or six of those candidates petition the Emperor to entertain his Majesty and the court with a dance on the rope, and whoever jumps the highest without falling, succeeds in the office. Very often the chief ministers themselves are commanded to shew their skill, and to convince the Emperor, that they have not lost their faculty. Flimnap, the treasurer, is allowed to cut a caper on the strait rope at least an inch higher, than any other lord in the whole empire. I have seen him

do the summerfet * several times together upon a trencher, fixed on a rope, which is no thicker than a common packthread in England. My friend Reldresal, principal secretary for private affairs, is in my opinion, if I am not partial, the second after the treasurer; the rest of the great officers are much upon a par.

These diversions are often attended with fatal accidents, whereof great numbers are on record. I myself have seen two or three candidates break a limb. But the danger is much greater, when the ministers themselves are commanded to shew their dexterity; for, by contending to excel themselves and their fellows, they strain so far, that there is hardly one of them, who hath not received a fall, and some of them two or three. I was assured, that a year or two before my arrival Flimnap would have infallibly broke his neck, if one of the King's cushions, that accidentally lay on the ground, had not weakened the force of his fall.

There is likewise another diversion, which is only shewn before the Emperor and Empress, and first minister upon particular occasions. The Emperor lays on the table three fine silken threads of six inches long; one is blue, the other red, and the third green. These threads are proposed as prizes for those persons, whom the Emperor hath a mind to distinguish by a peculiar mark of his favour. The ceremony is performed in his Majesty's great chamber of state, where the candidates are to undergo a trial of dexterity very different from the former, and such as I have not observed the least resemblance of in any other country of the old or new world. The Emperor holds a stick in his hands, both ends parallel to the horizon, while the candidates advancing, one by one, sometimes leap over the stick, sometimes creep under it, backwards and forwards several times, according as the stick is advanced or depressed. Sometimes the Emperor holds one end of the stick, and his first minister the other; sometimes the minister has it entirely to himself. Whoever performs his part with most agility, and holds out

* Summerfet, or summerfault, a gambol of a tumbler, in which he springs up, turns heels over head in the air, and comes down upon his feet. *Hawkes.*

the longest in leaping and creeping is rewarded with the blue-coloured silk; the red is given to the next, and the green to the third, which they all wear girt twice round about the middle; and you see few great persons about this court, who are not adorned with one of these girdles.

The horses of the army, and those of the royal stables, having been daily led before me, were no longer shy, but would come up to my very feet without starting. The riders would leap them over my hand, as I held it on the ground; and one of the Emperor's huntsmen upon a large courser took my foot, shoe and all; which was indeed a prodigious leap. I had the good fortune to divert the Emperor one day after a very extraordinary manner. I desired he would order several sticks of two feet high, and the thickness of an ordinary cane, to be brought me; whereupon his Majesty commanded the master of his woods to give directions accordingly, and the next morning six woodmen arrived with as many carriages, drawn by eight horses to each. I took nine of these sticks, and fixing them firmly in the ground in a quadrangular figure, two feet and a half square, I took four other sticks, and tied them parallel at each corner about two feet from the ground; then I fastened my handkerchief to the nine sticks that stood erect; and extended it on all sides, till it was tight as the top of a drum: and the four parallel sticks, rising about five inches higher than the handkerchief, served as ledges on each side. When I had finished my work, I desired the Emperor to let a troop of his best horse, twenty-four in number, come and exercise upon this plain. His Majesty approved of the proposal, and I took them up one by one in my hands, ready mounted and armed, with the proper officers to exercise them. As soon as they got into order, they divided into two parties, performed mock skirmishes, discharged blunt arrows, drew their swords, fled and pursued, attacked and retired, and in short discovered the best military discipline I ever beheld. The parallel sticks secured them and their horses from falling over the stage; and the Emperor was so much delighted, that he ordered this entertainment to be repeated several days, and once was pleased to be lifted up, and give the word of command; and, with great difficulty, persuaded even the Empress herself to let me hold her
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in her close chair within two yards of the stage, from whence she was able to take a full view of the whole performance. It was my good fortune, that no ill accident happened in these entertainments, only once a fiery horse, that belonged to one of the captains, pawing with his hoof, struck a hole in my handkerchief, and his foot slipping, he overthrew his rider and himself; but I immediately relieved them both, and covering the hole with one hand, I set down the troop with the other, in the same manner as I took them up. The horse that fell was strained in the left shoulder, but the rider got no hurt, and I repaired my handkerchief as well as I could; however, I would not trust to the strength of it any more in such dangerous enterprizes.

About two or three days before I was set at liberty, as I was entertaining the court with this kind of feats, there arrived an express to inform his Majesty, that some of his subjects, riding near the place where I was first taken up, had seen a great black substance lying on the ground, very oddly shaped, extending its edges round as wide as his Majesty's bed-chamber, and rising up in the middle as high as a man; that it was no living creature, as they at first apprehended, for it lay on the grass without motion; and some of them had walked round it several times; that, by mounting upon each other's shoulders, they had got to the top, which was flat and even, and stamping upon it, they found it was hollow within; that they humbly conceived it might be something belonging to the *man-mountain*; and if his Majesty pleased, they would undertake to bring it with only five horses. I presently knew what they meant, and was glad at heart to receive this intelligence. It seems, upon my first reaching the shore after our shipwreck I was in such confusion, that, before I came to the place where I went to sleep, my hat, which I had fastened with a string to my head while I was rowing, and had stuck on all the time I was swimming, fell off after I came to land; the string, as I conjecture, breaking by some accident, which I never observed, but thought my hat had been lost at sea. I intreated his Imperial Majesty to give orders, it might be brought to me as soon as possible, describing to him the use and the nature of it; and the next day the waggoners arrived.

arrived with it, but not in a very good condition; they had bored two holes in the brim within an inch and half of the edge, and fastened two hooks in the holes; these hooks were tied by a long cord to the harness, and thus my hat was dragged along for above half an English mile; but, the ground in that country being extremely smooth and level, it received less damage than I expected.

Two days after this adventure, the Emperor having ordered that part of his army, which quarters in and about his metropolis, to be in a readiness, took a fancy of diverting himself in a very singular manner. He desired I would stand like a *colossus*, with my legs as far asunder as I conveniently could. He then commanded his general (who was an old experienced leader, and a great patron of mine) to draw up the troops in close order, and march them under me; the foot by twenty-four in a breast, and the horse by sixteen, with drums beating, colours flying, and pikes advanced. This body consisted of three thousand foot, and a thousand horse. His Majesty gave orders, upon pain of death, that every soldier in his march should observe the strictest decency, with regard to my person; which, however, could not prevent some of the younger officers from turning up their eyes, as they passed under me: and, to confess the truth, my breeches were at that time in so ill a condition, that they afforded some opportunities for laughter and admiration.

I had sent so many memorials and petitions for my liberty, that his Majesty at length mentioned the matter first in the cabinet, and then in a full council; where it was opposed by none, except Skyresh Bolgolam, who was pleased, without any provocation, to be my mortal enemy. But it was carried against him by the whole board, and confirmed by the Emperor. That minister was *galbet*, or admiral of the realm, very much in his master's confidence, and a person well versed in affairs, but of a morose and sour complexion. However, he was at length persuaded to comply; but prevailed that the articles and conditions upon which I should be set free, and to which I must swear, should be drawn up by himself. These articles were brought to me by Skyresh Bolgolam in person, attended by two under-secretaries, and several persons of distinction. After they were read, I was demanded to swear

swear to the performance of them; first in the manner of my own country, and afterwards in the method prescribed by their laws, which was to hold my right foot in my left hand, and to place the middle finger of my right hand on the crown of my head, and my thumb on the tip of my right ear. But because the reader may be curious to have some idea of the style and manner of expression peculiar to that people, as well as to know the articles upon which I recovered my liberty, I have made a translation of the whole instrument, word for word, as near as I was able, which I here offer to the public.

Golbasto Memaren Evlame Gurdilo Shefin Mully Uly Gue, Most Mighty Emperor of Lilliput, delight and terror of the universe, whose dominions extend five thousand *blustrugs* (about twelve miles in circumference) to the extremities of the globe; monarch of all monarchs, taller than the sons of men; whose feet press down to the center, and whose head strikes against the sun; at whose nod the princes of the earth shake their knees; pleasant as the spring, comfortable as the summer, fruitful as autumn, dreadful as winter. His Most Sublime Majesty proposeth to the *man-mountain*, lately arrived at our celestial dominions, the following articles, which by a solemn oath he shall be obliged to perform.

1st, The *man-mountain* shall not depart from our dominions, without our licence under our great seal.

2^d, He shall not presume to come into our metropolis without our express order; at which time the inhabitants shall have two hours warning to keep within doors.

3^d, The said *man-mountain* shall confine his walks to our principal high roads, and not offer to walk or lie down in a meadow or field of corn.

4th, As he walks the said roads, he shall take the utmost care not to trample upon the bodies of any of our loving subjects, their horses, or carriages, nor take any of our subjects into his hands without their own consent.

5th, If an express requires extraordinary dispatch, the *man-mountain* shall be obliged to carry in his pocket the messenger and horse a six days journey once in every moon, and return the said messenger back (if so required) safe to our Imperial presence.

6th, He shall be our ally against our enemies in the island

island of Blefuscu*, and do his utmost to destroy their fleet, which is now preparing to invade us.

7th, That the said *man-mountain* shall, at his times of leisure, be aiding and assisting to our workmen, in helping to raise certain great stones, towards covering the wall of the principal park, and other our royal buildings.

8th, That the said *man-mountain* shall, in two moons time, deliver in an exact survey of the circumference of our dominions, by a computation of his own paces round the coast.

Lastly, That upon his solemn oath to observe all the above articles, the said *man-mountain* shall have a daily allowance of meat and drink sufficient for the support of 1724 of our subjects, with free access to our royal person, and other marks of our favour. Given at our palace at Belfaborac, the twelfth day of the ninety-first moon of our reign.

I swore and subscribed to these articles with great cheerfulness and consent, although some of them were not so honourable as I could have wished; which proceeded wholly from the malice of Skyresh Bolgolam, the high admiral; whereupon my chains were immediately unlocked, and I was at full liberty. The Emperor himself, in person, did me the honour to be by at the whole ceremony. I made my acknowledgments by prostrating myself at his majesty's feet: but he commanded me to rise; and after many gracious expressions, which, to avoid the censure of vanity, I shall not repeat, he added, that he hoped I should prove a useful servant, and well deserve all the favours he had already conferred upon me, or might do for the future.

The reader may please to observe, that, in the last article for the recovery of my liberty, the Emperor stipulates to allow me a quantity of meat and drink suffi-

* In his description of Lilliput, the author seems to have had England more immediately in view. In his description of Blefuscu he seems to intend the people and kingdom of France. Yet the allegory between these nations is frequently interrupted, and scarce any where complete. Several just strokes of satire are scattered here and there upon errors in the conduct of our government. *Overry.*

cient for the support of 1724 Lilliputians. Some time after asking a friend at court, how they came to fix on that determinate number; he told me, that his Majesty's mathematicians having taken the height of my body by the help of a *quadrant*, and finding it to exceed theirs in the proportion of twelve to one, they concluded, from the similarity of their bodies, that mine must contain at least 1724 of theirs, and consequently would require as much food as was necessary to support that number of Lilliputians. By which the reader may conceive an idea of the ingenuity of that people, as well as the prudent and exact oeconomy of so great a prince.

C H A P. IV.

Mildendo, the metropolis of Lilliput, described, together with the Emperor's palace. A conversation between the author and a principal secretary, concerning the affairs of that empire. The author's offers to serve the Emperor in his wars.

THE first request I made, after I had obtained my liberty, was, that I might have licence to see Mildendo, the metropolis; which the Emperor easily granted me, but with a special charge to do no hurt either to the inhabitants or their houses. The people had notice by proclamation, of my design to visit the town. The wall, which encompassed it, is two feet and a half high, and at least eleven inches broad, so that a coach and horses may be driven very safely round it; and it is flanked with strong towers at ten feet distance. I slept over the great western gate, and passed very gently, and sideling, through the two principal streets, only in my short waist-coat, for fear of damaging the roofs and eaves of the houses with the skirts of my coat. I walked with the utmost circumspection to avoid treading on any stragglers, who might remain in the streets; although the orders were very strict, that all people should keep in their houses at their own peril. The garret-windows and tops of houses were so crowded with spectators, that I thought in all my travels I had not seen a more populous place. The city is an exact square, each side of the wall being five hundred

dred feet long. The two great streets, which run cross and divide it into four quarters, are five feet wide. The lanes and alleys, which I could not enter, but only viewed them as I passed, are from twelve to eighteen inches. The town is capable of holding five hundred thousand souls: the houses are from three to five stories: the shops and markets well provided.

The Emperor's palace is in the center of the city, where the two great streets meet. It is inclosed by a wall of two feet high, and twenty feet distance from the buildings. I had his majesty's permission to step over this wall; and the space being so wide between that and the palace, I could easily view it on every side. The outward court is a square of forty feet, and includes two other courts: in the inmost are the royal apartments, which I was very desirous to see, but found it extremely difficult; for the great gates, from one square into another, were but eighteen inches high, and seven inches wide. Now the buildings of the outer court were at least five feet high, and it was impossible for me to stride over them without infinite damage to the pile, though the walls were strongly built of hewn stone, and four inches thick. At the same time the Emperor had a great desire, that I should see the magnificence of his palace; but this I was not able to do till three days after, which I spent in cutting down with my knife some of the largest trees in the royal park, about an hundred yards distance from the city. Of these trees I made two stools, each about three feet high, and strong enough to bear my weight. The people having received notice a second time, I went again through the city to the palace, with my two stools in my hands. When I came to the side of the outer court, I stood upon one stool, and took the other in my hand; this I lifted over the roof, and gently set it down on the space between the first and the second court, which was eight feet wide. I then stepped over the building very conveniently from one stool to the other, and drew up the first after me with a hooked stick. By this contrivance I got into the inmost court; and, lying down upon my side, I applied my face to the windows of the middle stories, which were left open on purpose, and discovered the most splendid apartments that can be

imagined. There I saw the Empress and the young princes in their several lodgings with their chief attendants about them. Her Imperial Majesty was pleased to smile very graciously upon me, and gave me out of the window her hand to kiss.

But I shall not anticipate the reader with farther descriptions of this kind, because I reserve them for a greater work, which is now almost ready for the press, containing a general description of this empire, from its first erection through a long series of princes, with a particular account of their wars and politics, laws, learning, and religion, their plants and animals, their peculiar manners and customs, with other matters very curious and useful; my chief design at present being only to relate such events and transactions, as happened to the public or to myself, during a residence of about nine months in that empire.

One morning, about a fortnight after I had obtained my liberty, Reldresal, principal secretary (as they stile him) for private affairs, came to my house, attended only by one servant. He ordered his coach to wait at a distance, and desired I would give him an hour's audience; which I readily consented to, on account of his quality and personal merits, as well as of the many good offices he had done me during my solicitations at court. I offered to lie down, that he might the more conveniently reach my ear; but he chose rather to let me hold him in my hand during our conversation. He began with compliments on my liberty; said, he might pretend to some merit in it: but however added, that, if it had not been for the present situation of things at court, perhaps I might not have obtained it so soon. For, said he, as flourishing a condition as we may appear to be in to foreigners, we labour under two mighty evils; a violent faction at home, and the danger of an invasion by a most potent enemy from abroad. As to the first, you are to understand, that for above seventy moons past there have been two struggling parties in this empire, under the names of Tramecksan, and Slamecksan*, from the high and low heels of their shoes,

* *High-Church and Low-Church, or Whig and Tory.* As every accidental difference between man and man, in person and circumstances,

shoes, by which they distinguish themselves. It is alledged indeed, that the high heels are most agreeable to our ancient constitution; but, however this be, his Majesty hath determined to make use only of low heels in the administration of the government, and all offices in the gift of the crown, as you cannot but observe; and particularly, that his Majesty's Imperial heels are lower at least by a *drurr* than any of his court (*drurr* is a measure about the fourteenth part of an inch.) The animosities between these two parties run so high, that they will neither eat nor drink, nor talk with each other. We compute the Trameckian, or high-heels, to exceed us in number; but the power is wholly on our side. We apprehend his imperial highness, the heir to the crown, to have some tendency towards the high-heels; at least, we can plainly discover, that one of his heels is higher than the other, which gives him a hobble in his gate. Now, in the midst of these intestine disquiets, we are threatened with an invasion from the island of Blefuscu, which is the other great empire of the universe, almost as large and powerful as this of his Majesty. For as to what we have heard you affirm, that there are other kingdoms and states in the world, inhabited by human creatures as large as yourself, our philosophers are in much doubt, and would rather conjecture that you dropped from the moon, or one of the stars; because it is certain, that an hundred mortals of your bulk, would in a short time destroy all the fruits and cattle of his Majesty's dominions: besides, our histories of six thousand moons make no mention of any other regions, than the two great empires of Lilliput and Blefuscu. Which two mighty powers have, as I was going to tell you, been engaged in a most obstinate war for six and thirty moons past. It began upon the following occasion: it is allowed on all hands, that the primitive way of breaking eggs, before we eat them, was upon the larger end; but his present Majesty's grand-father, while he was a boy, going to eat an egg, and breaking it ac-

cumstances, is by this work rendered extremely contemptible; so *speculative differences* are shewn to be equally ridiculous, when the zeal, with which they are opposed and defended, too much exceeds their importance.

cording to the ancient practice, happened to cut one of his fingers. Whereupon the Emperor, his father, published an edict, commanding all his subjects, upon great penalties, to break the smaller end of their eggs. The people so highly resented this law, that our histories tell us, there have been six rebellions raised on that account; wherein one Emperor lost his life, and another his crown. These civil commotions were constantly fomented by the monarchs of Blefuscu; and when they were quelled, the exiles always fled for refuge to that empire. It is computed that eleven thousand persons have at several times suffered death, rather than submit to break their eggs at the smaller end. Many hundred large volumes have been published upon this controversy; but the books of the Big-endians have been long forbidden, and the whole party rendered incapable by law of holding employments. During the course of these troubles, the Emperors of Blefuscu did frequently expostulate by their ambassadors, accusing us of making a schism in religion, by offending against a fundamental doctrine of our great prophet Lustrog, in the fifty-fourth chapter of the Blundecral (which is their Alcoran.) This however is thought to be a mere strain upon the text; for the words are these: *That all true believers break their eggs at the convenient end.* And which is the convenient end, seems in my humble opinion to be left to every man's conscience, or at least in the power of the chief magistrate to determine. Now, the Big-endian exiles have found so much credit in the Emperor of Blefuscu's court, and so much private assistance and encouragement from their party here at home, that a bloody war hath been carried on between the two empires for six and thirty moons, with various success; during which time we have lost forty capital ships, and a much greater number of smaller vessels; together with thirty thousand of our best seamen and soldiers: and the damage received by the enemy is reckoned to be somewhat greater than ours. However, they have now equipped a numerous fleet, and are just preparing to make a descent upon us; and his Imperial Majesty, placing great confidence in your valour and strength, hath commanded me to lay this account of his affairs before you.

I desired the secretary to present my humble duty to the

the Emperor, and to let him know, that I thought it would not become me, who was a foreigner, to interfere with parties; but I was ready, with the hazard of my life, to defend his person and state against all invaders *.

CHAP. V.

The author, by an extraordinary stratagem, prevents an invasion. A high title of honour is conferred upon him. Ambassadors arrive from the Emperor of Blefuscu, and sue for peace. The Empress's apartment on fire by an accident; the author instrumental in saving the rest of the palace.

THE empire of Blefuscu is an island, situated to the north-east side of Lilliput, from whence it is parted only by a channel of eight hundred yards wide. I had not yet seen it, and upon this notice of an intended invasion, I avoided appearing on that side of the coast, for fear of being discovered by some of the enemy's ships, who had received no intelligence of me, all intercourse between the two empires having been strictly forbidden during the war, upon pain of death, and an embargo laid by our Emperor upon all vessels whatsoever. I communicated to his Majesty a project I had formed of seizing the enemy's whole fleet: which, as our scouts assured us, lay at anchor in the harbour ready to sail with the first fair wind. I consulted the most experienced seamen upon the depth of the channel, which they had often plummed; who told me, that in the middle, at high-water, it was seventy *glumgluffs* deep, which is about six feet of European measure; and the rest of it fifty *glumgluffs* at most. I walked towards the north-east coast, over against Blefuscu; where, lying down behind a hillock, I took out

* Gulliver, without examining the subject of dispute, readily engaged to defend the Emperor against invasion, because he knew, that no such monarch had a right to invade the dominions of another, though for the propagation of truth.
Hawkes,

my small perspective-glass, and viewed the enemy's fleet at anchor, consisting of about fifty men of war, and a great number of transports: I then came back to my house, and gave orders (for which I had a warrant) for a great quantity of the strongest cable and bars of iron. The cable was about as thick as pack-thread, and the bars of the length and size of a knitting-needle. I trebled the cable to make it stronger, and for the same reason I twisted three of the iron bars together, bending the extremities into a hook. Having thus fixed fifty hooks to as many cables, I went back to the north-east coast, and putting off my coat, shoes, and stockings, walked into the sea in my leathern jerkin, about half an hour before high-water. I waded with what haste I could, and swam in the middle about thirty yards, till I felt ground; I arrived at the fleet in less than half an hour. The enemy was so frightened, when they saw me, that they leaped out of their ships, and swam to shore, where there could not be fewer than thirty thousand souls: I then took my tackling, and, fastening a hook to the hole at the prow of each, I tied all the cords together at the end. While I was thus employed, the enemy discharged several thousand arrows, many of which stuck in my hands and face; and, besides the excessive smart, gave me much disturbance in my work. My greatest apprehension was for mine eyes, which I should have infallibly lost, if I had not suddenly thought of an expedient. I kept among other little necessities, a pair of spectacles in a private pocket, which, as I observed before, had escaped the Emperor's searchers. These I took out, and fastened as strongly as I could upon my nose, and thus armed, went on boldly with my work, in spite of the enemy's arrows, many of which struck against the glasses of my spectacles, but without any other effect, farther than a little to discompose them. I had now fastened all the hooks, and taking the knot in my hand, began to pull; but not a ship would stir, for they were all too fast held by their anchors, so that the boldest part of my enterprize remained. I therefore let go the cord, and leaving the hooks fixed to the ships, I resolutely cut with my knife the cables that fastened the anchors, receiving above two hundred shots in my face and hands; then I took up the knotted end of the cables,

to which my hooks were tied, and with great ease drew fifty of the enemy's largest men of war after me:

The Blefuscudians, who had not the least imagination of what I intended, were at first confounded with astonishment. They had seen me cut the cables, and thought my design was only to let the ships run a-drift, or fall foul on each other: but when they perceived the whole fleet moving in order, and saw me pulling at the end, they set up such a scream of grief and despair, as it is almost impossible to describe or conceive. When I had got out of danger, I stopt a while to pick out the arrows, that stuck in my hands and face; and rubbed on some of the same ointment, that was given me at my first arrival, as I have formerly mentioned. I then took off my spectacles, and waiting about an hour, till the tide was a little fallen, I waded through the middle with my cargo, and arrived safe at the royal port of Lilliput.

The Emperor and his whole court stood on the shore, expecting the issue of this great adventure. They saw the ships move forward in a large half-moon, but could not discern me, who was up to my breast in water. When I advanced to the middle of the channel, they were yet more in pain, because I was under water to my neck. The Emperor concluded me to be drowned; and that the enemy's fleet was approaching in an hostile manner: but he was soon eased of his fears, for the channel growing shallower every step I made, I came in a short time within hearing, and holding up the end of the cable, by which the fleet was fastened, I cried in a loud voice, *Long live the most puissant Emperor of Lilliput!* this great prince received me at my landing with all possible encomiums, and created me a Nardac upon the spot, which is the highest title of honour among them.

His Majesty desired; I would take some other opportunity of bringing all the rest of his enemy's ships into his ports. And so unmeasurable is the ambition of princes, that he seemed to think of nothing less than reducing the whole empire of Blefuscu into a province, and governing it by a vice-roy; of destroying the Big-endian exiles, and compelling that people to break the smaller end of their eggs, by which he would remain the sole monarch of the whole world. But I endeavoured to divert him from this
design,

design, by many arguments drawn from the topics of policy as well as justice: and I plainly protested, that I would never be an instrument of bringing a free and brave people into slavery. And, when the matter was debated in council, the wisest part of the ministry were of my opinion.

This open bold declaration of mine, was so opposite to the schemes and politics of his Imperial Majesty, that he could never forgive me; he mentioned it in a very artful manner at council, where I was told that some of the wisest appeared at least by their silence to be of my opinion; but others, who were my secret enemies, could not forbear some expressions, which by a side-wind reflected on me. And from this time began an intrigue between his Majesty, and a junto of ministers maliciously bent against me, which broke out in less than two months, and had like to have ended in my utter destruction. Of so little weight are the greatest services to princes, when put into the balance with a refusal to gratify their passions.

About three weeks after this exploit, there arrived a solemn embassy from Blefuscu, with humble offers of a peace; which was soon concluded upon conditions very advantageous to our Emperor, wherewith I shall not trouble the reader. There were six ambassadors, with a train of about five hundred persons; and their entry was very magnificent, suitable to the grandeur of their master, and the importance of their business. When their treaty was finished, wherein I did them several good offices by the credit I now had, or at least appeared to have at court, their excellencies, who were privately told how much I had been their friend, made me a visit in form. They began with many compliments upon my valour and generosity, invited me to that kingdom, in the Emperor their master's name, and desired me to shew them some proofs of my prodigious strength, of which they had heard so many wonders; wherein I readily obliged them, but shall not trouble the reader with the particulars.

When I had for some time entertained their excellencies to their infinite satisfaction and surprize, I desired they would do me the honour to present my most humble
 respects

respects to the Emperor their master, the renown of whose virtues had so justly filled the whole world with admiration, and whose royal person I resolved to attend before I returned to my own country: accordingly, the next time I had the honour to see our Emperor, I desired his general licence to wait on the Blefuscudian monarch, which he was pleased to grant me, as I could plainly perceive, in a very cold manner; but could not guess the reason, till I had a whisper from a certain person, that Flimnap and Bolgolam had represented my intercourse with those ambassadors as a mark of disaffection, from which I am sure my heart was wholly free. And this was the first time I began to conceive some imperfect idea of courts and ministers.

It is to be observed, that these ambassadors spoke to me by an interpreter, the languages of both empires differing as much from each other as any two in Europe, and each nation priding itself upon the antiquity, beauty, and energy of their own tongues, with an avowed contempt for that of their neighbour; yet our Emperor, standing upon the advantage he had got by the seizure of their fleet, obliged them to deliver their credentials, and make their speech in the Lilliputian tongue. And it must be confessed, that from the great intercourse of trade and commerce between both realms, from the continual reception of exiles, which is mutual among them, and from the custom in each empire, to send their young nobility and richer gentry to the other, in order to polish themselves by seeing the world, and understanding men and manners; there are few persons of distinction, or merchants, or seamen, who dwell in the maritime parts, but what can hold conversation in both tongues; as I found some weeks after, when I went to pay my respects to the Emperor of Blefuscu, which in the midst of great misfortunes, through the malice of my enemies, proved a very happy adventure to me, as I shall relate in its proper place.

The reader may remember, that when I signed those articles upon which I recovered my liberty, there were some which I disliked, upon account of their being too servile, neither could any thing but an extreme necessity have forced me to submit. But being now a Nardac of the highest

highest rank in that empire, such offices were looked upon as below my dignity, and the Emperor (to do him justice) never once mentioned them to me. However, it was not long before I had an opportunity of doing his Majesty, at least as I then thought, a most signal service. I was alarmed at midnight with the cries of many hundred people at my door; by which being suddenly awakened, I was in some kind of terror. I heard the word *Burglum* repeated incessantly: several of the Emperor's court, making their way through the crowd, intreated me to come immediately to the palace, where her Imperial Majesty's apartment was on fire by the carelessness of a maid of honour, who fell asleep while she was reading a romance. I got up in an instant; and orders being given to clear the way before me, and it being likewise a moon-shine night, I made a shift to get to the palace without trampling on any of the people. I found they had already applied ladders to the walls of the apartment, and were well provided with buckets, but the water was at some distance. These buckets were about the size of a large thimble, and the poor people supplied me with them as fast as they could: but the flame was so violent, that they did little good. I might easily have stifled it with my coat, which I unfortunately left behind me for haste, and came away only in my leathern jerkin. The case seemed wholly desperate and deplorable, and this magnificent palace would have infallibly been burnt down to the ground, if by a presence of mind, unusual to me, I had not suddenly thought of an expedient. I had the evening before drank plentifully of a most delicious wine, called *Glimigrim* (the *Blefuscutians* call it *Flonec*, but ours is esteemed the better sort) which is very diuretic. By the luckiest chance in the world I had not discharged myself of any part of it. The heat I had contracted by coming very near the flames, and by my labouring to quench them, made the wine begin to operate by urine; which I voided in such a quantity, and applied so well to the proper places, that in three minutes the fire was wholly extinguished, and the rest of that noble pile, which had cost so many ages in erecting, preserved from destruction.

It was now day-light, and I returned to my house
without

without waiting to congratulate with the Emperor: because, although I had done a very eminent piece of service, yet I could not tell how his Majesty might resent the manner, by which I had performed it: for, by the fundamental laws of the realm, it is capital in any person, of what quality soever, to make water within the precincts of the palace. But I was a little comforted by a message from his Majesty, that he would give orders to the grand justiciary for passing my pardon in form; which however I could not obtain. And I was privately assured, that the Empress, conceiving the greatest abhorrence of what I had done, removed to the most distant side of the court, firmly resolved that those buildings should never be repaired for her use; and, in the presence of her chief confidants, could not forbear vowing revenge.

CHAP. VI.

Of the inhabitants of Lilliput; their learning, laws, and customs; the manner of educating their children. The author's way of living in that country. His vindication of a great lady.

ALTHOUGH I intend to leave the description of this empire to a particular treatise, yet in the mean time I am content to gratify the curious reader with some general ideas. As the common size of the natives is somewhat under six inches high, so there is an exact proportion in all other animals, as well as plants and trees: for instance, the tallest horses and oxen are between four and five inches in height, the sheep an inch and half, more or less; their geese about the bigness of a sparrow, and so the several gradations downwards, till you come to the smallest, which to my sight were almost invisible; but nature hath adapted the eyes of the Lilliputians to all objects proper for their view: they see with great exactness, but at no great distance. And, to shew the sharpness of their sight towards objects that are near, I have been much pleased with observing a cook pulling a lark, which was not so large as a common fly; and a young girl

girl threading an invisible needle with invisible silk. Their tallest trees are about seven feet high: I mean some of those in the great royal park, the tops whereof I could but just reach with my fist clinched. The other vegetables are in the same proportion; but this I leave to the reader's imagination.

I shall say but little at present of their learning, which for many ages hath flourished in all its branches among them: but their manner of writing is very peculiar, being neither from the left to the right, like the Europeans; nor from the right to the left, like the Arabians; nor from up to down, like the Chinese; but assant from one corner of the paper to the other, like ladies in England.

They bury their dead with their heads directly downwards, because they hold an opinion, that in eleven thousand moons they are all to rise again, in which period the earth (which they conceive to be flat) will turn upside down, and by this means they shall at their resurrection be found ready standing on their feet *. The learned among them confess the absurdity of this doctrine, but the practice still continues in compliance to the vulgar †.

There

* Here the author dares even to exert his vein of humour so liberally, as to place the resurrection, one of the most encouraging principles of the Christian religion, in a ridiculous and contemptible light. Why should that appointment be denied to man, or appear so very extraordinary in the human kind, which the Author of nature has illustrated in the vegetable species, where the seed dies and corrupts, before it can rise again to new beauty and glory? *Orrery.*

† This paragraph, if it were examined with judgment and candour, would incline us to believe, that an opinion of a life to come is connected so immediately with all our reasoning faculties, that, supposing we had never been blessed with any revelation from God, we should believe the resurrection to life eternal. The Lilliputians believe, that, after eleven thousand moons, the earth will be turned upside down; and upon that account they are buried with their heads directly downwards, in order to be found standing upon their feet at the day of resurrection: An opinion, which I confess, with the learned among themselves, to be whimsical and ridiculous enough. But
follics

There are some laws and customs in this empire very peculiar; and, if they were not so directly contrary to those of my own dear country, I should be tempted to say a little in their justification. It is only to be wished they were as well executed. The first I shall mention, relates to informers. All crimes against the state are punished here with the utmost severity; but, if the person accused maketh his innocence plainly to appear upon his trial, the accuser is immediately put to an ignominious death; and out of his goods or lands, the innocent person is quadruply recompensed for the loss of his time, for the danger he underwent, for the hardship of his imprisonment, and for all the charges he hath been at in making his defence. Or, if that fund be deficient, it is largely supplied by the crown. The Emperor also confers on him some public mark of his favour, and proclamation is made of his innocence through the whole city.

They look upon fraud as a greater crime than theft, and therefore seldom fail to punish it with death; for they alledge, that care and vigilance, with a very common understanding, may preserve a man's goods from thieves: but honesty has no fence against superior cunning; and since it is necessary that there should be a perpetual intercourse of buying and selling, and dealing upon credit; where fraud is permitted and connived at, or hath no law to punish it, the honest dealer is always undone, and the knave gets the advantage. I remember, when I was once interceding with the king for a criminal, who had wronged his master of a great sum of money, which he had received by order and ran away with; and happening to tell his Majesty, by way of extenuation,

follies and absurdities are always mixed with idolatry and superstition. The Lilliputians were rank idolaters; otherwise how could they imagine Gulliver's watch to be the god that he worshipped? And therefore I cannot but infer, that, instead of placing the resurrection in a ridiculous contemptible light, Gulliver hath fairly manifested the opinion of a state hereafter (although connected with some vanities and absurdities, which are the effects of superstition) to be the ground-work of all religion, founded upon the clear and strong dictates, both of nature and reason. *Swift.*

that it was only a breach of trust; the Emperor thought it monstrous in me to offer as a defence, the greatest aggravation of the crime: and truly I had little to say in return, farther than the common answer, that different nations had different customs; for, I confess, I was heartily ashamed*.

Although we usually call reward and punishment the two hinges, upon which all government turns, yet I could never observe this maxim to be put in practice by any nation, except that of Lilliput. Whoever can there bring sufficient proof, that he hath strictly observed the laws of his country for seventy-three moons, hath a claim to certain privileges, according to his quality and condition of life, with a proportionable sum of money out of a fund appropriated for that use: he likewise acquires the title of *snilpall*, or *legal*, which is added to his name, but doth not descend to his posterity. And these people thought it a prodigious defect of policy among us, when I told them, that our laws were enforced only by penalties, without any mention of reward. It is upon this account, that the image of justice in their courts of judicature is formed with six eyes, two before, as many behind, and on each side one, to signify circumspection; with a bag of gold open in her right hand, and a sword sheathed in her left, to shew she is more disposed to reward than to punish.

In choosing persons for all employments, they have more regard to good morals than to great abilities; for, since government is necessary to mankind, they believe that the common size of human understandings is fitted to some station or other, and that providence never intended to make the management of public affairs a mystery, to be comprehended only by a few persons of sublime genius, of which there seldom are three born in an age: but they suppose truth, justice, temperance, and the like, to be in every man's power, the practice of which virtues, assisted by experience and a good intention, would qualify any man for the service of his country, except where a course of study is required. But they thought the want

* An act of parliament hath been since passed, by which some breaches of trust have been made capital. *Hawkes.*

of moral virtues was so far from being supplied by superior endowments of the mind, that employments could never be put into such dangerous hands as those of persons so qualified; and at least, that the mistakes committed by ignorance in a virtuous disposition, would never be of such fatal consequence to the public weal, as the practices of a man whose inclinations led him to be corrupt, and who had great abilities to manage, to multiply, and defend his corruptions.

In like manner, the disbelief of a divine providence renders a man incapable of holding any public station; for, since kings avow themselves to be the deputies of providence, the Lilliputians think nothing can be more absurd, than for a prince to employ such men as disown the authority, under which he acteth.

In relating these and the following laws, I would only be understood to mean the original institutions, and not the most scandalous corruptions, into which these people are fallen, by the degenerate nature of man. For as to that infamous practice of acquiring great employments by dancing on the ropes, or badges of favour and distinction by leaping over sticks, and creeping under them, the reader is to observe, that they were first introduced by the grandfather of the Emperor, now reigning, and grew to the present height by the gradual increase of party and faction.

Ingratitude is among them a capital crime, as we read it to have been in some other countries; for they reason thus, that whoever makes ill returns to his benefactor, must needs be a common enemy to the rest of mankind, from whom he hath received no obligation, and therefore such a man is not fit to live.

Their notions relating to the duties of parents and children, differ extremely from ours. For, since the conjunction of male and female is founded upon the great law of nature, in order to propagate and continue the species, the Lilliputians will needs have it, that men and women are joined together like other animals, by the motives of concupiscence; and that their tenderness towards their young, proceeds from the like natural principle: for which reason they will never allow, that a child is under any obligation to his father for begetting him, or to his

mother for bringing him into the world, which, considering the miseries of human life, was neither a benefit in itself, nor intended so by his parents, whose thoughts in their love encounters were otherwise employed. Upon these, and the like reasonings, their opinion is, that parents are the last of all others to be trusted with the education of their own children: and therefore they have in every town public nurseries, where all parents, except cottagers and labourers, are obliged to send their infants of both sexes to be reared and educated when they come to the age of twenty moons, at which time they are supposed to have some rudiments of docility. These schools are of several kinds, suited to different qualities, and to both sexes. They have certain professors well skilled in preparing children for such a condition of life as befits the rank of their parents, and their own capacities as well as inclinations. I shall first say something of the male nurseries, and then of the female.

The nurseries for males of noble or eminent birth, are provided with grave and learned professors, and their several deputies. The clothes and food of the children are plain and simple. They are bred up in the principles of honour, justice, courage, modesty, clemency, religion, and love of their country; they are always employed in some business, except in the times of eating and sleeping, which are very short, and two hours for diversions, consisting of bodily exercises. They are dressed by men till four years of age, and then are obliged to dress themselves, although their quality be ever so great; and the women attendants, who are aged proportionably to ours at fifty, perform only the most menial offices. They are never suffered to converse with servants, but go together in smaller or greater numbers to take their diversions, and always in the presence of a professor, or one of his deputies; whereby they avoid those early bad impressions of folly and vice, to which our children are subject. Their parents are suffered to see them only twice a-year; the visit is to last but an hour; they are allowed to kiss the child at meeting and parting; but a professor, who always stands by on those occasions, will not suffer them to whisper, or use any fondling expressions, or bring any presents of toys, sweet-meats, and the like.

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Chap. VI. A VOYAGE TO LILLIPUT. 55

The pension from each family for the education and entertainment of a child, upon failure of due payment, is levied by the Emperor's officers.

The nurseries for children of ordinary gentlemen, merchants, traders, and handicrafts, are managed proportionably after the same manner; only those designed for trades are put out apprentices at eleven years old, whereas those of persons of quality continue in their exercises till fifteen, which answers to twenty one with us: but the confinement is gradually lessened for the last three years.

In the female nurseries, the young girls of quality are educated much like the males, only they are dressed by orderly servants of their own sex; but always in the presence of a professor or deputy, till they come to dress themselves, which is at five years old. And if it be found, that these nurses ever presume to entertain the girls with frightful or foolish stories, or the common follies practised by chamber-maids among us, they are publicly whipped thrice about the city, imprisoned for a year, and banished for life to the most desolate part of the country. Thus the young ladies there are as much ashamed of being cowards and fools, as the men, and despise all personal ornaments beyond decency and cleanliness: neither did I perceive any difference in their education, made by their difference of sex, only that the exercises of the females were not altogether so robust; and that some rules were given them relating to domestic life, and a smaller compass of learning was enjoined them: for their maxim is, that, among people of quality, a wife should be always a reasonable and agreeable companion, because she cannot always be young. When the girls are twelve years old, which among them is the marriageable age, their parents or guardians take them home with great expressions of gratitude to the professors, and seldom without tears of the young lady and her companions.

In the nurseries of females of the meaner sort, the children are instructed in all kinds of works proper for their sex, and their several degrees: those intended for apprentices are dismissed at seven years old, the rest are kept to eleven.

The meaner families, who have children at these nur-

series, are obliged, besides their annual pension, which is as low as possible, to return to the steward of the nursery, a small monthly share of their gettings, to be a portion for the child; and therefore, all parents are limited in their expences by the law. For the Lilliputians think nothing can be more unjust, than for people, in subservience to their own appetites, to bring children into the world, and leave the burden of supporting them on the public. As to persons of quality, they give security to appropriate a certain sum for each child, suitable to their condition; and these funds are always managed with good husbandry, and the most exact justice.

The cottagers and labourers keep their children at home, their business being only to till and cultivate the earth, and therefore their education is of little consequence to the public: but the old and diseased among them are supported by hospitals: for begging is a trade unknown in this empire.

And here it may perhaps divert the curious reader, to give some account of my domestics, and my manner of living in this country, during a residence of nine months and thirteen days. Having a head mechanically turned, and being likewise forced by necessity, I had made for myself a table and chair, convenient enough, out of the largest trees in the royal park. Two hundred sempstresses were employed to make me shirts, and linen for my bed and table, all of the strongest and coarsest kinds they could get; which however they were forced to quilt together in several folds, for the thickest was some degrees finer than lawn. Their linen is usually three inches wide, and three feet make a piece. The sempstresses took my measure as I lay on the ground, one standing at my neck, and another at my mid-leg, with a strong cord extended, that each held by the end, while a third measured the length of the cord with a rule of an inch long. Then they measured my right thumb, and desired no more; for by a mathematical computation, that twice round the thumb is once round the wrist, and so on to the neck and the waist, and by the help of my old shirt, which I displayed on the ground before them for a pattern, they fitted me exactly. Three hundred tailors were employed in the same manner to make me clothes; but they had another contrivance

contrivance for taking my measure. I kneeled down, and they raised a ladder from the ground to my neck; upon this ladder one of them mounted, and let fall a plum-line from my collar to the floor, which just answered the length of my coat; but my waist and arms I measured myself. When my clothes were finished, which was done in my house (for the largest of theirs would not have been able to hold them) they looked like the patch-work made by the ladies in England, only that mine were all of a colour.

I had three hundred cooks to dress my victuals in little convenient huts built about my house, where they and their families lived, and prepared me two dishes a-piece. I took up twenty waiters in my hand, and placed them on the table; an hundred more attended below on the ground, some with dishes of meat, and some with barrels of wine, and other liquors, slung on their shoulders; all which the waiters above drew up, as I wanted, in a very ingenious manner by certain cords, as we draw the bucket up a well, in Europe. A dish of their meat was a good mouthful, and a barrel of their liquor a reasonable draught. Their mutton yields to ours, but their beef is excellent. I have had a sirloin so large, that I have been forced to make three bits of it; but this is rare. My servants were astonished to see me eat it, bones and all, as in our country we do the leg of a lark. Their geese and turkies I usually eat at a mouthful, and I must confess, they far exceed ours. Of their smaller fowl I could take up twenty or thirty at the end of my knife.

One day his Imperial Majesty, being informed of my way of living, desired that himself and his royal consort, with the young princes of the blood of both sexes, might have the happiness (as he was pleased to call it) of dining with me. They came accordingly, and I placed them in chairs of state upon my table, just over against me, with their guards about them. Flimnap, the lord high treasurer, attended there likewise with his white staff; and I observed he often looked on me with a sour countenance, which I would not seem to regard; but eat more than usual, in honour to my dear country, as well as to fill the court with admiration. I have some private reasons to believe, that this visit from his Majesty gave Flimnap an opportunity

opportunity of doing me ill offices to his master. That minister had always been my secret enemy, though he outwardly caressed me more than was usual to the moroseness of his nature. He represented to the Emperor the low condition of his treasury; that he was forced to take up money at great discount; that exchequer bills would not circulate under nine *per cent.* below par; that I had cost his Majesty above a million and a half of *sprugs* (their greatest gold coin, about the bigness of a spangle) and upon the whole, that it would be adviseable in the Emperor to take the first fair occasion of dismissing me.

I am here obliged to vindicate the reputation of an excellent lady, who was an innocent sufferer upon my account. The treasurer took a fancy to be jealous of his wife, from the malice of some evil tongues, who informed him that her grace had taken a violent affection for my person; and the court-scandal ran for some time, that she once came privately to my lodging. This I solemnly declare to be a most infamous falshood, without any grounds, farther than that her grace was pleased to treat me with all innocent marks of freedom and friendship. I own she came often to my house, but always publicly, nor ever without three more in the coach, who were usually her sister and young-daughter, and some particular acquaintance; but this was common to many other ladies of the court. And I still appeal to my servants round, whether they at any time saw a coach at my door, without knowing what persons were in it. On these occasions, when a servant had given me notice, my custom was to go immediately to the door; and, after paying my respects, to take up the coach and two horses very carefully in my hands (for, if there were six horses, the postillion always unharnessed four) and placed them on a table, where I had fixed a moveable rim, quite round, of five inches high, to prevent accidents. And I have often had four coaches and horses at once on my table, full of company, while I sat in my chair, leaning my face towards them; and, when I was engaged with one set, the coachmen would gently drive the others round my table. I have passed many an afternoon very agreeably in these conversations. But I defy the treasurer, or his two informers (I will name them, and let them make their best of it) Clustril and
Drunlo,

Drunlo, to prove that any person ever came to me *incognito*, except the secretary Reldresal, who was sent by express command of his Imperial Majesty, as I have before related. I should not have dwelt so long upon this particular, if it had not been a point wherein the reputation of a great lady is so nearly concerned, to say nothing of my own, though I then had the honour to be a *Nardac*, which the treasurer himself is not; for all the world knows, that he is only a *Glumglum*, a title inferior by one degree, as that of a Marquis is to a Duke in England; yet I allow he preceded me in right of his post. These false informations, which I afterwards came to the knowledge of by an accident not proper to mention, made the treasurer shew his lady for some time an ill countenance, and me a worse; and although he was at last undeceived and reconciled to her, yet I lost all credit with him, and found my interest decline very fast with the Emperor himself, who was indeed too much governed by that favourite.

C H A P. VII.

The author, being informed of a design to accuse him of high-treason, maketh his escape to Blefuscu. His reception there.

BEFORE I proceed to give an account of my leaving this kingdom, it may be proper to inform the reader of a private intrigue, which had been for two months forming against me.

I had been hitherto all my life a stranger to courts, for which I was unqualified by the meanness of my condition. I had indeed heard and read enough of the dispositions of great princes and ministers; but never expected to have found such terrible effects of them in so remote a country, governed, as I thought, by very different maxims from those in Europe.

When I was just preparing to pay my attendance on the Emperor of Blefuscu, a considerable person at court (to whom I had been very serviceable at a time, when he lay under the highest displeasure of his Imperial Majesty) came to my house very privately at night in a close chair,
and,

and, without sending his name, desired admittance: the chairmen were dismissed; I put the chair, with his lordship in it, into my coat pocket; and, giving orders to a trusty servant to say I was indisposed and gone to sleep, I fastened the door of my house, placed the chair on the table, according to my usual custom, and sat down by it. After the common salutations were over, observing his lordship's countenance full of concern, and enquiring into the reason, he desired I would hear him with patience in a matter, that highly concerned my honour and my life. His speech was to the following effect, for I took notes of it as soon as he left me.

You are to know, said he, that several committees of council have been lately called in the most private manner on your account; and it is but two days since his Majesty came to a full resolution.

You are very sensible that Skyrish Bolgolam (*galbat*, or high-admiral) hath been your mortal enemy almost ever since your arrival: his original reasons I know not; but his hatred is increased since your great success against Blefuscu, by which his glory, as admiral, is much obscured. This lord, in conjunction with Flimnap the high-treasurer, whose enmity against you is notorious on account of his lady, Limtoc the general, Lalcon the chamberlain, and Balmuff the grand justiciary, have prepared articles of impeachment against you for treason, and other capital crimes.

This preface made me so impatient, being conscious of my own merits and innocence, that I was going to interrupt: when he entreated me to be silent, and thus proceeded.

Out of gratitude for the favours you have done me, I procured information of the whole proceedings, and a copy of the articles; wherein I venture my head for your service.

Articles of impeachment against Quinbus Flestrin, the man-mountain.

ARTICLE I.

Whereas, by a statute made in the reign of his Imperial Majesty Calin Deffar Plune, it is enacted, that who-
ever

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ever shall make water within the precincts of the royal palace, shall be liable to the pains and penalties of high treason: notwithstanding the said Quinbus Flestrin, in open breach of the said law, under colour of extinguishing the fire kindled in the apartment of his majesty's most dear imperial consort, did maliciously, traiterously, and devilishly, by discharge of his urine, put out the said fire kindled in the said apartment, lying and being within the precincts of the said royal palace, against the statute in that case provided, &c. against the duty, &c.

ARTICLE II.

That the said Quinbus Flestrin having brought the imperial fleet of Blefuscu into the royal port, and being afterwards commanded by his Imperial Majesty to seize all the other ships of the said empire of Blefuscu, and reduce that empire to a province to be governed by a viceroy from hence, and to destroy and put to death, not only all the *Big-endian exiles*, but likewise all the people of that empire, who would not immediately forsake the *Big-endian* heresy: he, the said Flestrin, like a false traitor against his most auspicious, serene, Imperial Majesty, did petition to be excused from the said service, upon pretence of unwillingness to force the consciences, or destroy the liberties and lives of an innocent people*.

ARTICLE III.

That, whereas certain ambassadors arrived from the court of Blefuscu to sue for peace in his Majesty's court; he, the said Flestrin, did, like a false traitor, aid, abet, comfort, and divert the said ambassadors, although he knew them to be servants to a prince, who was lately an open enemy to his Imperial Majesty, and in open war against his said Majesty.

* A lawyer thinks himself honest if he does the best he can for his client; and a statesman, if he promotes the interest of his country: but the Dean here inculcates an higher notion of right and wrong, and obligations to a larger community.
Hawkes.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE IV.

That the said Quibus Flestrin, contrary to the duty of a faithful subject, is now preparing to make a voyage to the court and empire of Blefuscu, for which he hath received only verbal licence from his Imperial Majesty; and under colour of the said licence, doth falsely and traitterously intend to take the said voyage, and thereby to aid, comfort, and abet, the Emperor of Blefuscu, so late an enemy and in open war with his Imperial Majesty aforesaid.

There are some other articles, but these are the most important, of which I have read you an abstract.

In the several debates upon this impeachment it must be confessed, that his Majesty gave many marks of his great lenity, often urging the services you had done him, and endeavouring to extenuate your crimes. The treasurer and admiral insisted, that you should be put to the most painful and ignominious death, by setting fire on your house at night, and the general was to attend with twenty thousand men armed with poisoned arrows, to shoot you on the face and hands. Some of your servants were to have private orders to strew a poisonous juice on your shirts and sheets, which would soon make you tear your own flesh, and die in the utmost torture. The general came into the same opinion; so that for a long time there was a majority against you: but his Majesty resolving, if possible, to spare your life, at last brought off the chamberlain.

Upon this incident, Reldresal, principal secretary for private affairs, who always approved himself your true friend, was commanded by the Emperor to deliver his opinion, which he accordingly did: and therein justified the good thoughts you have of him. He allowed your crimes to be great, but that still there was room for mercy, the most commendable virtue in a prince, and for which his Majesty was so justly celebrated. He said, the friendship between you and him was so well known to the world, that perhaps the most honourable board might think him partial: however, in obedience to the command

mand he had received, he would freely offer his sentiments. That if his Majesty, in consideration of your services, and pursuant to his own merciful disposition, would please to spare your life, and only give order to put out both your eyes, he humbly conceived, that by this expedient justice might in some measure be satisfied, and all the world would applaud the lenity of the Emperor, as well as the fair and generous proceedings of those who have the honour to be his counsellors. That the loss of your eyes would be no impediment to your bodily strength, by which you might still be useful to his Majesty: that blindness is an addition to courage, by concealing dangers from us; that the fear you had for your eyes, was the greatest difficulty in bringing over the enemies fleet; and it would be sufficient for you to see by the eyes of the ministers, since the greatest princes do no more.

This proposal was received with the utmost disapprobation by the whole board. Bolgolam the admiral could not preserve his temper; but rising up in fury said, he wondered how the secretary durst presume to give his opinion for preserving the life of a traitor: that the services you had performed were, by all true reasons of state, the great aggravation of your crimes; that you, who was able to extinguish the fire by discharge of urine in her Majesty's apartment, (which he mentioned with horror) might at another time raise an inundation by the same means to drown the whole palace; and the same strength, which enabled you to bring over the enemies fleet, might serve, upon the first discontent, to carry it back: that he had good reasons to think you were a *Big-endian* in your heart; and as treason begins in the heart, before it appears in overt-acts, so he accused you as a traitor on that account, and therefore insisted you should be put to death.

The treasurer was of the same opinion: he shewed to what straits his Majesty's revenue was reduced, by the charge of maintaining you, which would soon grow insupportable: that the secretary's expedient of putting out your eyes, was so far from being a remedy against this evil, that it would probably increase it, as is manifest from the common practice of blinding some kind of fowl, after which they fed the faster, and grew sooner fat: that his sacred Majesty and the council, who are your judges,

were in their own consciences fully convinced of your guilt, which was a sufficient argument to condemn you to death, without the formal proofs required by the strict letter of the law *.

But his Imperial Majesty, fully determined against capital punishment, was graciously pleased to say, that since the council thought the loss of your eyes too easy a censure, some other may be inflicted hereafter. And your friend, the secretary, humbly desiring to be heard again, in answer to what the treasurer had objected concerning the great charge his Majesty was at in maintaining you, said, that his Excellency, who had the sole disposal of the Emperor's revenue, might easily provide against that evil by gradually lessening your establishment; by which, for want of sufficient food, you would grow weak and faint, and lose your appetite, and consume in a few months; neither would the stench of your carcase be then so dangerous, when it should become more than half diminished; and immediately upon your death, five or six thousand of his Majesty's subjects might in two or three days cut your flesh from your bones, take it away by cart-loads, and bury it in distant parts to prevent infection, leaving the skeleton as a monument of admiration to posterity.

Thus by the great friendship of the secretary the whole affair was compromised. It was strictly enjoined, that the project of starving you by degrees should be kept a secret; but the sentence of putting out your eyes was entered on the books; none dissenting except Bolgolam the admiral, who, being a creature of the Empress, was perpetually instigated by her Majesty to insist upon your death, she

* There is something so odious in whatever is wrong, that even those whom it does not subject to punishment, endeavour to colour it with an appearance of right; but the attempt is always unsuccessful, and only betrays a consciousness of deformity, by shewing a desire to hide it. Thus the Lilliputian court pretended a right to dispense with the strict letter of the law to put Gulliver to death, though, by the strict letter of the law only he could be convicted of a crime; the intention of the statute not being to suffer the palace rather to be burnt, than pissed upon. *Hawkes.*

having

having borne perpetual malice against you on account of that infamous and illegal method you took to extinguish the fire in her-apartment.

In three days, your friend the secretary will be directed to come to your house, and read before you the articles of impeachment; and then to signify the great lenity and favour of his Majesty and council, whereby you are only condemned to the loss of your eyes, which his Majesty doth not question you will gratefully and humbly submit to; and twenty of his Majesty's surgeons will attend in order to see the operation well performed, by discharging very sharp-pointed arrows into the balls of your eyes, as you lie on the ground.

I leave to your prudence what measures you will take; and, to avoid suspicion, I must immediately return, in as private a manner as I came.

His lordship did so, and I remained alone under many doubts and perplexities of mind.

It was a custom, introduced by this prince and his ministry (very different, as I have been assured, from the practices of former times) that after the court had decreed any cruel execution, either to gratify the monarch's resentment, or the malice of a favourite, the Emperor always made a speech to his whole council, expressing his great lenity and tenderness, as qualities known and confessed by all the world. This speech was immediately published through the kingdom; nor did any thing terrify the people so much as those encomiums on his Majesty's mercy; because it was observed, that, the more these praises were enlarged and insisted on, the more inhuman was the punishment, and the sufferer more innocent. Yet, as to myself, I must confess, having never been designed for a courtier, either by my birth or education, I was so ill a judge of things, that I could not discover the lenity and favour of this sentence, but conceived it, (perhaps erroneously) rather to be rigorous than gentle. I sometimes thought of standing my trial; for although I could not deny the facts alledged in the several articles, yet I hoped they would admit of some extenuation. But having in my life perused many state-trials, which I ever observed to terminate as the judges thought fit to direct, I durst not rely on so dangerous a decision, in so critical

a juncture, and against such powerful enemies. Once I was strongly bent upon resistance, for, while I had liberty, the whole strength of that empire could hardly subdue me, and I might easily with stones pelt the metropolis to pieces; but I soon rejected that project with horror, by remembering the oath I had made to the Emperor, the favours I received from him, and the high title of *Nurdac* he conferred upon me. Neither had I so soon learned the gratitude of courtiers, to persuade myself, that his Majesty's present severities acquitted me of all past obligations.

At last I fixed upon a resolution, for which it is probable I may incur some censure, and not unjustly; for I confess, I owe the preserving mine eyes, and consequently my liberty, to my own great rashness, and want of experience; because, if I had then known the nature of princes and ministers, which I have since observed in many other courts, and their methods of treating criminals, less obnoxious than myself, I should with great alacrity and readiness have submitted to so easy a punishment. But, hurried on by the precipitancy of youth, and having his Imperial Majesty's licence to pay my attendance upon the Emperor of Blefuscu, I took this opportunity, before the three days were elapsed, to send a letter to my friend the secretary, signifying my resolution of setting out that morning for Blefuscu, pursuant to the leave I had got: and, without waiting for an answer, I went to that side of the island where our fleet lay. I seized a large man of war, tied a cable to the prow, and, lifting up the anchors, I stript myself, put my clothes (together with my coverlet, which I carried under my arm) into the vessel, and drawing it after me, between wading and swimming arrived at the royal port of Blefuscu, where the people had long expected me; they lent me two guides to direct me to the capital city, which is of the same name. I held them in my hands, till I came within two hundred yards of the gate, and desired them to signify my arrival to one of the secretaries, and let him know, I there waited his Majesty's command. I had an answer in about an hour, that his Majesty, attended by the royal family and great officers of the court, was coming out to receive me. I advanced a hundred yards. The Emperor and his train alighted

lighted from their horses, the Empress and ladies from their coaches, and I did not perceive they were in any fright or concern. I lay on the ground to kiss his Majesty's and the Empress's hand. I told his Majesty that I was come, according to my promise, and with the licence of the Emperor my master, to have the honour of seeing so mighty a monarch, and to offer him any service in my power, consistent with my duty to my own prince; not mentioning a word of my disgrace, because I had hitherto no regular information of it, and might suppose myself wholly ignorant of any such design; neither could I reasonably conceive that the Emperor would discover the secret, while I was out of his power; wherein however it soon appeared I was deceived.

I shall not trouble the reader with the particular account of my reception at this court, which was suitable to the generosity of so great a prince; nor of the difficulties I was in for want of a house and bed, being forced to lie on the ground, wrapt up in my coverlet.

C H A P. VIII.

The author, by a lucky accident, finds means to leave Blefuscu; and, after some difficulties, returns safe to his native country.

THREE days after my arrival, walking out of curiosity to the north-east coast of the island, I observed about half a league off, in the sea, somewhat that looked like a boat overturned. I pulled off my shoes and stockings, and, wading two or three hundred yards, I found the object to approach nearer by force of the tide; and then plainly saw it to be a real boat, which I supposed might by some tempest have been driven from a ship: whereupon I returned immediately towards the city, and desired his Imperial Majesty to lend me twenty of the tallest vessels he had left after the loss of his fleet, and three thousand seamen; under the command of his vice-admiral. This fleet sailed round, while I went back the shortest way to the coast, where I first discovered the boat; I found the tide had driven it still nearer. The seamen were all provided with cordage, which I had before-

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hand twisted to a sufficient strength. When the ships came up, I stript myself, and waded till I came within an hundred yards of the boat, after which I was forced to swim till I got up to it. The seamen threw me the end of the cord, which I fastened to a hole in the fore-part of the boat, and the other end to a man of war: but I found all my labour to little purpose; for, being out of my depth, I was not able to work. In this necessity, I was forced to swim behind, and push the boat forwards as often as I could, with one of my hands; and, the tide favouring me, I advanced so far, that I could just hold up my chin and feel the ground. I rested two or three minutes, and then gave the boat another shove, and so on till the sea was no higher than my arm-pits; and now, the most laborious part being over, I took out my other cables, which were stowed in one of the ships, and fastened them first to the boat, and then to nine of the vessels which attended me; the wind being favourable, the seamen towed, and I shoved till we arrived within forty yards of the shore, and, waiting till the tide was out, I got dry to the boat, and by the assistance of two thousand men, with ropes and engines, I made a shift to turn it on its bottom, and found it was but little damaged.

I shall not trouble the reader with the difficulties I was under by the help of certain paddles, which cost me ten days making, to get my boat to the royal port of Blefuscu, where a mighty concourse of people appeared upon my arrival, full of wonder at the sight of so prodigious a vessel. I told the Emperor, that my good fortune had thrown this boat in my way to carry me to some place, from whence I might return into my native country, and begged his Majesty's orders for getting materials to fit it up, together with his licence to depart, which, after some kind expostulations, he was pleased to grant.

I did very much wonder, in all this time, not to have heard of any express relating to me from our Emperor to the court of Blefuscu. But I was afterwards given privately to understand, that his Imperial Majesty, never imagining I had the least notice of his designs, believed I was only gone to Blefuscu in performance of my promise, according to the licence he had given me, which was well known at our court, and would return in a few days, when

when the ceremony was ended. But he was at last in pain at my long absence; and, after consulting with the treasurer and the rest of that cabal, a person of quality was dispatched with a copy of the articles against me. This envoy had instructions to represent to the monarch of Blefuscu, the great lenity of his master, who was content to punish me no farther than with the loss of mine eyes; that I had fled from justice, and, if I did not return in two hours, I should be deprived of my title of *Nardac*, and declared a traitor. The envoy further added, that, in order to maintain the peace and amity between both empires, his master expected, that his brother of Blefuscu would give orders to have me sent back to Lilliput, bound hand and foot, to be punished as a traitor.

The Emperor of Blefuscu, having taken three days to consult, returned an answer, consisting of many civilities and excuses. He said, that, as for sending me bound, his brother knew it was impossible; that although I had deprived him of his fleet, yet he owed great obligations to me for many good offices I had done him in making the peace. That however both their Majesties would soon be made easy: for I had found a prodigious vessel on the shore, able to carry me on the sea, which he had given orders to fit up with my own assistance and direction; and he hoped in a few weeks both empires would be freed from so insupportable an incumbrance.

With this answer the envoy returned to Lilliput, and the monarch of Blefuscu related to me all that had passed: offering me at the same time (but under the strictest confidence) his gracious protection, if I would continue in his service; wherein, although I believed him sincere, yet I resolved never more to put any confidence in princes or ministers, where I could possibly avoid it; and therefore, with all due acknowledgments for his favourable intentions, I humbly begged to be excused. I told him, that since fortune, whether good or evil, had thrown a vessel in my way, I was resolved to venture myself in the ocean, rather than be an occasion of difference between two such mighty monarchs. Neither did I find the Emperor at all displeased; and I discovered by a certain accident, that he was very glad of my resolution, and so were most of his ministers.

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These considerations moved me to hasten my departure somewhat sooner than I intended; to which the court, impatient to have me gone, very readily contributed. Five hundred workmen were employed to make two sails to my boat, according to my directions, by quilting thirteen fold of their strongest linen together. I was at the pains of making ropes and cables by twisting ten, twenty, or thirty of the thickest and strongest of theirs. A great stone that I happened to find, after a long search by the sea-shore, served me for an anchor. I had the tallow of three hundred cows for greasing my boat, and other uses. I was at incredible pains in cutting down some of the largest timber-trees for oars and masts, wherein I was however much assisted by his Majesty's ship-carpenters, who helped me in smoothing them after I had done the rough work.

In about a month, when all was prepared, I sent to receive his Majesty's commands, and to take my leave. The Emperor and royal family came out of the palace; I lay down on my face to kiss his hand, which he very graciously gave me; so did the Empress, and young princes of the blood. His Majesty presented me with fifty purses of two hundred *sprugs* a-piece, together with his picture at full length, which I put immediately into one of my gloves to keep it from being hurt. The ceremonies at my departure were too many to trouble the reader with at this time.

I stored the boat with the carcases of an hundred oxen, and three hundred sheep, with bread and drink proportionable, and as much meat ready dressed, as four hundred cooks could provide. I took with me six cows and two bulls alive, with as many ewes and rams, intending to carry them into my own country, and propagate the breed. And to feed them on board, I had a good bundle of hay, and a bag of corn. I would gladly have taken a dozen of the natives, but this was a thing the Emperor would by no means permit; and, besides a diligent search into my pockets, his Majesty engaged my honour not to carry away any of his subjects, although with their own consent and desire.

Having thus prepared all things as well as I was able, I set sail on the 24th day of September 1701, at six in
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the morning ; and when I had gone about four leagues to the northward, the wind being at south-east, at six in the evening I descried a small island about half a league to the north-west. I advanced forward, and cast anchor on the lee-side of the island, which seemed to be uninhabited. I then took some refreshment, and went to my rest. I slept well, and as I conjecture, at least six hours, for I found the day broke in two hours after I awaked. It was a clear night. I eat my breakfast before the sun was up ; and heaving anchor, the wind being favourable, I steered the same course that I had done the day before, wherein I was directed by my pocket-compass. My intention was to reach, if possible, one of those islands which I had reason to believe lay to the north-east of Van Diemen's land. I discovered nothing all that day ; but upon the next, about three in the afternoon, when I had, by my computation, made twenty-four leagues from Blefuscu, I descried a sail steering to the south-east ; my course was due east. I hailed her, but could get no answer ; yet I found I gained upon her, for the wind slackened. I made all the sail I could, and in half an hour she spied me, then hung out her antient, and discharged a gun. It is not easy to express the joy I was in upon the unexpected hope of once more seeing my beloved country, and the dear pledges I left in it. The ship slackened her sails, and I came up with her between five and six in the evening, September 26 ; but my heart leapt within me to see her English colours. I put my cows and sheep into my coat-pockets, and got on board with all my little cargo of provisions. The vessel was an English merchantman returning from Japan, by the North and South-seas ; the captain Mr. John Biddel of Deptford, a very civil man, and an excellent sailor. We were now in the latitude of 30 degrees south, there were about fifty men in the ship ; and here I met an old comrade of mine, one Peter Williams, who gave me a good character to the captain. This gentleman treated me with kindness, and desired I would let him know what place I came from last, and whither I was bound ; which I did in few words, but he thought I was raving, and that the dangers I had underwent had disturbed my head ; whereupon I took my black cattle and sheep out of my pocket, which, after
great

great astonishment, clearly convinced him of my veracity. I then shewed him the gold given me by the Emperor of Blefuscu, together with his Majesty's picture at full length, and some other rarities of that country. I gave him two purses of two hundred *sprugs* each, and promised, when we arrived in England, to make him a present of a cow and a sheep big with young.

I shall not trouble the reader with a particular account of this voyage, which was very prosperous for the most part. We arrived in the Downs on the 13th of April 1702. I had only one misfortune, that the rats on board carried away one of my sheep; I found her bones in a hole, picked clean from the flesh. The rest of my cattle I got safe a-shore, and set them a grazing in a bowling-green at Greenwich, where the fineness of the grass made them feed very heartily, though I had always feared the contrary: neither could I possibly have preserved them in so long a voyage, if the captain had not allowed me some of his best biscuit, which, rubbed to powder, and mingled with water, was their constant food. The short time I continued in England, I made a considerable profit by shewing my cattle to many persons of quality, and others: and before I began my second voyage, I sold them for six hundred pounds. Since my last return I find the breed is considerably increased, especially the sheep, which I hope will prove much to the advantage of the woollen manufacture, by the fineness of the fleeces.

I stayed but two months with my wife and family: for my insatiable desire of seeing foreign countries would suffer me to continue no longer. I left fifteen hundred pounds with my wife, and fixed her in a good house at Redriff. My remaining stock I carried with me, part in money and part in goods, in hopes to improve my fortune. My eldest uncle John had left me an estate in land, near Epping, of about thirty pounds a-year; and I had a long lease of the Black-Bull in Fetter-Lane, which yielded me as much more: so that I was not in any danger of leaving my family upon the parish. My son Johnny, named so after his uncle, was at the grammar-school, and a towardly child. My daughter Betty, (who is now
well

Chap. VIII. A VOYAGE to LILLIPUT. 73

well married, and has children) was then at her needle-work. I took leave of my wife, and boy and girl, with tears on both sides, and went on board the Adventure, a merchant-ship of 300 tons, bound for Surat, Capt. John Nicholas of Liverpool commander. But my account of this voyage must be referred to the second part of my travels.

TRAVELS

TRAVELS into several REMOTE NATIONS of the world.

P A R T II.

A VOYAGE TO BROBDINGNAG.

C H A P. I.

A great storm described, the long-boat sent to fetch water, the author goes with it to discover the country. He is left on shore, is seized by one of the natives, and carried to a farmer's house. His reception, with several accidents that happened there. A description of the inhabitants.

HAVING been condemned by nature and fortune to an active and restless life, in two months after my return, I again left my native country, and took shipping in the Downs on the 20th day of June 1702, in the Adventure, Capt. John Nicholas, a Cornish man, commander, bound for Surat. We had a very prosperous gale till we arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, where we landed for fresh water, but discovering a leak, we unshipped our goods, and wintered there; for, the captain falling sick of an ague, we could not leave the Cape till the end of March. We then set sail, and had a good voyage till we passed the Streights of Madagafcar; but having got northward of that island, and to about five degrees south latitude, the winds, which in those seas are observed to blow a constant equal gale between the north and west, from the beginning of December to the beginning of May, on the 19th of April began to blow with much greater violence, and more westerly than usual, continuing so for twenty days together, during which time, we were driven a little to the east of the Molucca islands, and about three degrees northward of the line, as our captain found by an observation he took the 2d

of

of May, at which time the wind ceased, and it was a perfect calm, whereat I was not a little rejoiced. But he, being a man well experienced in the navigation of those seas, bid us all prepare against a storm, which accordingly happened the day following: for a southern wind, called the southern *monsoon*, began to set in.

Finding it was like to overblow, we took in our sprit-sail, and stood by to hand the fore-sail; but, making foul weather, we looked the guns were all fast, and handed the mizen. The ship lay very broad off, so we thought it better spooning before the sea, than trying or hulling. We reefed the fore-sail and set him, and hawled aft the fore-sheet; the helm was hard-a-weather. The ship wore bravely. We belayed the fore-down-hall; but the sail was split, and we hawled down the yard, and got the sail into the ship, and unbound all the things clear of it. It was a very fierce storm; the sea broke strange and dangerous. We hawled off upon the lanniard of the whip-staff, and helped the man at the helm. We would not get down our top-mast, but let all stand, because she scudded before the sea very well, and we knew that, the top-mast being aloft, the ship was the wholsomer, and made better way through the sea, seeing we had sea-room. When the storm was over, we set fore-sail and main-sail, and brought the ship to. Then we set the mizen, main-top-sail, and the fore-top-sail. Our course was *east-north-east*, the wind was at *south-west*. We got the star-board tacks aboard, we cast off our weather-braces and lifts; we set in the lee-braces, and hawled forward by the weather-bowlings, and hawled them tight, and belayed them, and hawled over the mizen-tack to windward, and kept her full and by as near as she would lie.

During this storm, which was followed by a strong wind *west-south-west*, we were carried by my computation about five hundred leagues to the *east*, so that the oldest sailor on board could not tell in what part of the world we were. Our provisions held out well, our ship was staunch, and our crew all in good health; but we lay in the utmost distress for water. We thought it best to hold on the same course, rather than turn more northerly, which might have brought us to the *north-west* parts of great Tartary, and into the frozen sea.

On the 16th day of June, 1703, a boy on the top-mast discovered land. On the 17th, we came in full view of a great island or continent (for we knew not whether) on the south-side whereof was a small neck of land jetting out into the sea, and a creek too shallow to hold a ship of above one hundred tons. We cast anchor within a league of this creek, and our captain sent a dozen of his men well armed in the long-boat, with vessels for water, if any could be found. I desired his leave to go with them, that I might see the country, and make what discoveries I could. When we came to land, we saw no river or spring, nor any sign of inhabitants. Our men therefore wandered on the shore to find out some fresh water near the sea, and I walked alone about a mile on the other side, where I observed the country all barren and rocky. I now began to be weary, and seeing nothing to entertain my curiosity, I returned gently down towards the creek; and the sea being full in my view, I saw our men already got into the boat, and rowing for life to the ship. I was going to hollow after them, although it had been to little purpose, when I observed a huge creature walking after them in the sea, as fast as he could; he waded not much deeper than his knees, and took prodigious strides; but our men had the start of him half a league, and, the sea thereabouts being full of sharp-pointed rocks, the monster was not able to overtake the boat. This I was afterwards told, for I durst not stay to see the issue of the adventure; but ran as fast as I could the way I first went, and then climbed up a steep hill, which gave me some prospect of the country. I found it fully cultivated; but that which first surprised me was the length of the grass, which, in those grounds that seemed to be kept for hay, was about twenty feet high.

I fell into a high-road, for so I took it to be, though it served to the inhabitants only as a foot-path through a field of barley. Here I walked on for some time, but could see little on either side, it being now near harvest, and the corn rising at least forty feet, I was an hour walking to the end of this field, which was fenced in with a hedge of at least one hundred and twenty feet high, and the trees so lofty that I could make no computation

putation of their altitude. There was a stile to pass from this field into the next. It had four steps, and a stone to cross over when you came to the uppermost. It was impossible for me to climb this stile, because every step was six feet high, and the upper stone above twenty. I was endeavouring to find some gap in the hedge, when I discovered one of the inhabitants in the next field advancing towards the stile, of the same size with him whom I saw in the sea pursuing our boat. He appeared as tall as an ordinary spire-steeple, and took about ten yards at every stride, as near as I could guess. I was struck with the utmost fear and astonishment; and ran to hide myself in the corn, from whence I saw him at the top of the stile looking back into the next field on the right hand, and heard him call in a voice many degrees louder than a speaking-trumpet; but the noise was so high in the air, that at first I certainly thought it was thunder. Whereupon seven monsters, like himself, came towards him with reaping hooks in their hands, each hook about the largeness of six scythes. These people were not so well clad as the first, whose servants or labourers they seemed to be: for, upon some words he spoke, they went to reap the corn in the field where I lay. I kept from them at as great a distance as I could, but was forced to move with extreme difficulty, for the stalks of the corn were sometimes not above a foot distant, so that I could hardly squeeze my body betwixt them. However, I made a shift to go forward, till I came to a part of the field where the corn had been laid by the rain and wind. Here it was impossible for me to advance a step; for the stalks were so interwoven, that I could not creep through, and the beards of the fallen ears so strong and pointed, that they pierced through my cloaths into my flesh. At the same time I heard the reapers not above an hundred yards behind me. Being quite dispirited with toil, and wholly overcome by grief and despair, I lay down between two ridges, and heartily wished I might there end my days. I bemoaned my desolate widow, and fatherless children. I lamented my own folly and wilfulness in attempting a second voyage against the advice of all my friends and relations. In this terrible agitation of mind, I could not forbear thinking of Lilliput, whose inhabitants

looked upon me as the greatest prodigy that ever appeared in the world: where I was able to draw an imperial fleet in my hand, and perform those other actions which will be recorded for ever in the chronicles of that empire, while posterity shall hardly believe them, although attested by millions. I reflected what a mortification it must prove to me, to appear as inconsiderable in this nation, as one single Lilliputian would be among us. But this I conceived was to be the least of my misfortunes: for, as human creatures are observed to be more savage and cruel, in proportion to their bulk, what could I expect, but to be a morsel in the mouth of the first among these enormous barbarians, that should happen to seize me? Undoubtedly philosophers are in the right when they tell us, that nothing is great or little otherwise than by comparison. It might have pleased fortune to have let the Lilliputians find some nation, where the people were as diminutive, with respect to them, as they were to me. And who knows but that even this prodigious race of mortals might be equally overmatched in some distant part of the world, whereof we have yet no discovery.

Scared and confounded as I was, I could not forbear going on with these reflections, when one of the reapers, approaching within ten yards of the ridge where I lay, made me apprehend, that with the next step I should be squashed to death under his foot, or cut in two with his reaping-hook. And therefore, when he was again about to move, I screamed as loud as fear could make me. Whereupon the huge creature trod short, and, looking round about under him, for some time, at last espied me as I lay on the ground. He considered a while with the caution of one who endeavours to lay hold on a small dangerous animal, in such a manner that it shall not be able either to scratch or to bite him, as I myself have sometimes done with a weasel in England. At length he ventured to take me up behind by the middle, between his fore-finger and thumb, and brought me within three yards of his eyes, that he might behold my shape more perfectly. I guessed his meaning, and my good fortune gave me so much presence of mind, that I resolved not to struggle in the least as he held me in the air, above sixty feet from the ground, although he grievously pinched my sides,

sides, for fear I should slip through his fingers. All I ventured was, to raise mine eyes towards the sun, and place my hands together in a supplicating posture, and to speak some words in an humble melancholy tone, suitable to the condition I then was in. For I apprehended every moment that he would dash me against the ground, as we usually do any little hateful animal, which we have a mind to destroy *. But my good star would have it, that he appeared pleased with my voice and gestures, and began to look upon me as a curiosity, much wondering to hear me pronounce articulate words, although he could not understand them. In the mean time I was not able to forbear groaning and shedding tears; and turning my head towards my sides; letting him know, as well as I could, how cruelly I was hurt by the pressure of his thumb and finger. He seemed to apprehend my meaning; for, lifting up the lappet of his coat, he put me gently into it, and immediately ran along with me to his master, who was a substantial farmer, and the same person I had first seen in the field.

The farmer having (as I suppose by their talk) received such an account of me as his servant could give him, took a piece of a small straw, about the size of a walking-staff, and therewith lifted up the lappets of my coat; which it seems he thought to be some kind of covering that nature had given me. He blew my hairs aside to take a better view of my face. He called his hinds about him, and asked them (as I afterwards learned) whether they had ever seen in the fields, any little creature that resembled me: he then placed me softly on the ground upon all four, but I got immediately up, and walked slowly backwards and forwards, to let those people see I had no intent to run away. They all sat down in a circle about me, the better to observe my motions. I pulled off

* Our inattention to the felicity of sensitive beings merely because they are small, is here forcibly reprov'd: many have wantonly crush'd an insect; who would shudder at cutting the throat of a dog; but it should always be remembered, that the least of these

*In mortal sufferance feels a pang as great
As when a giant dies, Hawkes.*

my hat, and made a low bow towards the farmer. I fell on my knees, and lifted up my hands and eyes, and spoke several words as loud as I could: I took a purse of gold out of my pocket, and humbly presented it to him. He received it on the palm of his hand, then applied it close to his eye to see what it was, and afterwards turned it several times with the point of a pin (which he took out of his sleeve) but could make nothing of it. Whereupon I made a sign that he should place his hand on the ground. I then took the purse, and opening it, poured all the gold into his palm. There were six Spanish pieces, of four pistoles each, besides twenty or thirty smaller coins. I saw him wet the tip of his little finger upon his tongue, and take up one of my largest pieces, and then another, but he seemed to be wholly ignorant what they were. He made me a sign to put them again into my purse, and the purse again into my pocket, which, after offering it to him several times, I thought it best to do.

The farmer by this time was convinced I must be a rational creature. He spoke often to me, but the sound of his voice pierced my ears like that of a water mill, yet his words were articulate enough. I answered as loud as I could in several languages, and he often laid his ear within two yards of me; but all in vain, for we were wholly unintelligible to each other. He then sent his servants to their work, and, taking his handkerchief out of his pocket, he doubled and spread it on his left hand, which he placed flat on the ground, with the palm upwards, making me a sign to step into it, as I could easily do, for it was not above a foot in thickness. I thought it my part to obey, and, for fear of falling, laid myself at full length upon the handkerchief, with the remainder of which he lapped me up to the head for farther security, and in this manner carried me home to his house. There he called his wife, and shewed me to her: but she screamed and ran back, as women in England do at the sight of a toad or a spider. However, when she had a while seen my behaviour, and how well I observed the signs her husband made, she was soon reconciled, and by degrees grew extremely tender of me.

It was about twelve at noon, and a servant brought in dinner. It was only one substantial dish of meat (fit for

for the plain condition of an husbandman) in a dish of about four and twenty feet diameter. The company were the farmer and his wife, three children and an old grandmother: when they were sat down, the farmer placed me at some distance from him on the table, which was thirty feet high from the floor. I was in a terrible fright, and kept as far as I could from the edge for fear of falling. The wife minced a bit of meat, then crumbled some bread on a trencher, and placed it before me. I made her a low bow, took out my knife and fork, and fell to eat, which gave them exceeding delight. The mistress sent her maid for a small dram-cup, which held about two gallons, and filled it with drink; I took up the vessel with much difficulty in both hands, and in a most respectful manner drank to her ladyship's health, expressing the words as loud as I could in English, which made the company laugh so heartily, that I was almost deafened with the noise. This liquor tasted like a small cyder, and was not unpleasant. Then the master made me a sign to come to his trencher-side; but as I walked on the table, being in great surprize all the time, as the indulgent reader will easily conceive and excuse, I happened to stumble against a crust, and fell flat on my face, but received no hurt. I got up immediately, and observing the good people to be in much concern, I took my hat (which I held under my arm out of good manners) and, waving it over my head, made three huzzas, to shew I had got no mischief by my fall. But advancing forwards toward my master (as I shall henceforth call him) his youngest son, who sat next him, an arch boy of about ten years old, took me up by the legs, and held me so high in the air, that I trembled every limb; but his father snatched me from him, and at the same time gave him such a box on the left ear, as would have felled an European troop of horse to the earth, ordering him to be taken from the table. But being afraid the boy might owe me a spight, and well remembering how mischievous all children among us naturally are to sparrows, rabbits, young kittens, and puppy-dogs, I fell on my knees, and pointing to the boy made my master to understand, as well as I could, that I desired his son might be pardoned. The father complied, and the lad took his seat again; whereupon I went to him.

him and kissed his hand, which my master took, and made him stroak me gently with it.

In the midst of dinner, my mistress's favourite cat leapt into her lap. I heard a noise behind me like that of a dozen stocking-weavers at work; and, turning my head, I found it proceeded from the purring of that animal, who seemed to be three times larger than an ox, as I computed by the view of her head, and one of her paws, while her mistress was feeding and stroaking her. The fierceness of this creature's countenance altogether discomposed me; though I stood at the further end of the table, above fifty feet off; and although my mistress held her fast, for fear she might give a spring, and seize me in her talons. But it happened there was no danger; for the cat took not the least notice of me, when my master placed me within three yards of her. And as I have been always told, and found true by experience in my travels, that flying or discovering fear before a fierce animal is a certain way to make it pursue or attack you, so I resolved in this dangerous juncture to shew no manner of concern. I walked with intrepidity five or six times before the very head of the cat, and came within half a yard of her; whereupon she drew herself back, as if she were more afraid of me: I had less apprehension concerning the dogs, whereof three or four came into the room, as it is usual in farmers houses; one of which was a mastiff equal in bulk to four elephants, and a greyhound somewhat taller than the mastiff, but not so large.

When dinner was almost done, the nurse came in with a child of a year old in her arms, who immediately spied me, and began a squall, that you might have heard from London-bridge to Chelsea, after the usual oratory of infants to get me for a play-thing. The mother out of pure indulgence took me up, and put me towards the child, who presently seized me by the middle, and got my head into his mouth, where I roared so loud that the urchin was frightened, and let me drop, and I should infallibly have broke my neck, if the mother had not held her apron under me. The nurse to quiet her babe made use of a rattle, which was a kind of hollow vessel filled with great stones, and fastened by a cable to the child's waist: but all in vain, so that she was forced to apply the

the last remedy by giving it suck. I must confess no object ever disgusted me so much as the sight of her monstrous breast, which I cannot tell what to compare with, so as to give the curious reader an idea of its bulk, shape, and colour. It stood prominent six feet, and could not be less than sixteen in circumference. The nipple was about half the bigness of my head, and the hue both of that and the dug so varified with spots, pimples, and freckles, that nothing could appear more nauseous: for I had a near sight of her, she sitting down, the more conveniently to give suck, and I standing on the table. This made me reflect upon the fair skins of our English ladies, who appear so beautiful to us, only because they are of our own size, and their defects not to be seen but through a magnifying-glass, where we find by experiment, that the smoothest and whitest skins look rough and coarse, and ill-coloured.

I remember, when I was at Lilliput, the complexions of those diminutive people appeared to me the fairest in the world; and talking upon this subject with a person of learning there, who was an intimate friend of mine, he said that my face appeared much fairer and smoother when he looked on me from the ground, than it did upon a nearer view when I took him up in my hand and brought him close, which he confessed was at first a very shocking sight. He said he could discover great holes in my skin; that the stumps of my beard were ten times stronger than the bristles of a boar, and my complexion made up of several colours altogether disagreeable: although I must beg leave to say for myself, that I am as fair as most of my sex and country, and very little sunburnt by all my travels. On the other side, discoursing of the ladies in that Emperor's court, he used to tell me, one had freckles, another too wide a mouth, a third too large a nose, nothing of which I was able to distinguish. I confess, this reflexion was obvious enough; which however I could not forbear, lest the reader might think those vast creatures were actually deformed: for I must do them justice to say, they are a comely race of people; and particularly the features of my master's countenance; although he were but a farmer, when I beheld him from
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the height of sixty feet, appeared very well proportioned.

When dinner was done, my master went out to his labourers, and, as I could discover by his voice and gesture, gave his wife a strict charge to take care of me. I was very much tired, and disposed to sleep, which my mistress perceiving, she put me on her own bed, and covered me with a clean white handkerchief, but larger and coarser than the main-sail of a man-of war.

I slept about two hours, and dreamed I was at home with my wife and children, which aggravated my sorrows when I awaked, and found myself alone in a vast room, between two and three hundred feet wide, and above two hundred high, lying in a bed twenty yards wide. My mistress was gone about her household affairs, and had locked me in. The bed was eight yards from the floor. Some natural necessities required me to get down; I durst not presume to call, and, if I had, it would have been in vain with such a voice as mine, at so great a distance as from the room where I lay to the kitchen where the family kept. While I was under these circumstances, two rats crept up the curtains, and ran smelling backwards and forwards on the bed. One of them came up almost to my face, whereupon I rose in a fright, and drew out my hanger to defend myself. These horrible animals had the boldness to attack me on both sides, and one of them held his fore-feet at my collar; but I had the good fortune to rip up his belly, before he could do me any mischief. He fell down at my feet, and the other seeing the fate of his comrade made his escape, but not without one good wound on the back, which I gave him as he fled, and made the blood run trickling from him. After this exploit I walked gently to and fro on the bed to recover my breath, and loss of spirits. These creatures were of the size of a large mastiff, but infinitely more nimble and fierce, so that, if I had taken off my belt before I went to sleep, I must have infallibly been torn to pieces and devoured. I measured the tail of the dead rat, and found it to be two yards long, wanting an inch; but it went against my stomach to drag the carcass off the bed, where it lay still bleeding; I observ-
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ed it had yet some life, but, with a strong slash cross the neck, I thoroughly dispatched it.

Soon after my mistress came into the room, who seeing me all bloody, ran and took me up in her hand. I pointed to the dead rat, smiling and making other signs to shew I was not hurt, whereat she was extremely rejoiced, calling the maid to take up the dead rat with a pair of tongs, and throw it out of the window. Then she set me on a table, where I shewed her my hanger all bloody, and, wiping it on the lappet of my coat, returned it to the scabbard. I was pressed to do more than one thing, which another could not do for me, and therefore endeavoured to make my mistress understand that I desired to be set down on the floor; which, after she had done, my bashfulness would not suffer me to express myself farther, than by pointing to the door, and bowing several times. The good woman, with much difficulty, at last perceived what I would be at, and taking me up again in her hand, walked into the garden, where she set me down. I went on one side about two hundred yards, and beckoning to her not to look or to follow me, I hid myself between two leaves of sorrel, and there discharged the necessities of nature.

I hope the gentle reader will excuse me for dwelling on these and the like particulars, which, however insignificant they may appear to groveling vulgar minds, yet will certainly help a philosopher to enlarge his thoughts and imagination, and apply them to the benefit of public as well as private life, which was my sole design in presenting this and other accounts of my travels to the world; wherein I have been chiefly studious of truth, without affecting any ornaments of learning or of style. But the whole scene of this voyage made so strong an impression on my mind, and is so deeply fixed in my memory, that in committing it to paper I did not omit one material circumstance: however, upon a strict review, I blotted out several passages of less moment which were in my first copy, for fear of being censured as tedious and trifling, whereof travellers are often, perhaps not without justice, accused.

C H A P. II.

A description of the farmer's daughter. The author carried to a market-town, and then to the metropolis. The particulars of his journey.

MY mistress had a daughter of nine years old, a child of towardsly parts for her age, very dexterous at her needle, and skilful in dressing her baby. Her mother and she contrived to fit up the baby's cradle for me against night: the cradle was put into a small drawer of a cabinet, and the drawer placed upon a hanging shelf for fear of the rats. This was my bed all the time I stayed with those people, though made more convenient by degrees, as I began to learn their language, and make my wants known. This young girl was so hardy, that, after I had once or twice pulled off my cloaths before her, she was able to dress and undress me, though I never gave her that trouble, when she would let me do either myself. She made me seven shirts, and some other linen, of as fine cloth as could be got, which indeed was coarser than sackcloth; and these she constantly washed for me with her own hands. She was likewise my school-mistress to teach me the language: when I pointed to any thing, she told me the name of it in her own tongue, so that in a few days I was able to call for whatever I had a mind to. She was very good-natured, and not above forty feet high, being little for her age. She gave me the name of Grildrig, which the family took up, and afterwards the whole kingdom. The word imports what the Latins call *nanunculus*, the Italians *homunculetino*, and the English *mannikin*. To her I chiefly owe my preservation in that country: we never parted while I was there; I called her my Glumdalclitch, or little nurse; and should be guilty of great ingratitude, if I omitted this honourable mention of her care and affection towards me, which I heartily wish it lay in my power to requite as she deserves, instead of being the innocent, but unhappy instrument of her disgrace, as I have too much reason to fear.

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It now began to be known and talked of in the neighbourhood, that my master had found a strange animal in the field, about the bigness of a *splacnuck*, but exactly shaped in every part like a human creature; which it likewise imitated in all its actions; seemed to speak in a little language of its own, had already learned several words of theirs, went erect upon two legs, was tame and gentle, would come when it was called, do whatever it was bid, had the finest limbs in the world, and a complexion fairer than a nobleman's daughter of three years old. Another farmer, who lived hard by, and was a particular friend of my master, came on a visit on purpose to enquire into the truth of this story. I was immediately produced, and placed upon a table, where I walked as I was commanded, drew my hanger, put it up again, made my reverence to my master's guest, asked him in his own language how he did, and told him he was welcome, just as my little nurse had instructed me. This man, who was old and dim-sighted, put on his spectacles to behold me better, at which I could not forbear laughing very heartily, for his eyes appeared like the full moon shining into a chamber at two windows. Our people, who discovered the cause of my mirth, bore me company in laughing, at which the old fellow was fool enough to be angry and out of countenance. He had the character of a great miser, and, to my misfortune, he well deserved it, by the cursed advice he gave my master, to shew me as a sight upon a market-day in the next town, which was half an hour's riding, about two and twenty miles from our house. I guessed there was some mischief contriving, when I observed my master and his friend whispering long together, sometimes pointing at me; and my fears made me fancy, that I overheard and understood some of their words. But the next morning Glumdalclitch, my little nurse, told me the whole matter, which she had cunningly picked out from her mother. The poor girl laid me on her bosom, and fell a weeping with shame and grief. She apprehended some mischief would happen to me from rude vulgar folks, who might squeeze me to death, or break one of my limbs by taking me in their hands. She had also observed how modest I was in my nature, how nicely I regarded my honour, and what an

indignity I should conceive it to be exposed for money as a public spectacle to the meanest of the people. She said, her *papa* and *mama* had promised that Grildrig should be hers, but now she found they meant to serve her as they did last year, when they pretended to give her a lamb, and yet, as soon as it was fat, sold it to a butcher. For my own part, I may truly affirm, that I was less concerned than my nurse. I had a strong hope, which never left me, that I should one day recover my liberty; and as to the ignominy of being carried about for a monster, I considered myself to be a perfect stranger in the country, and that such a misfortune could never be charged upon me as a reproach, if ever I should return to England; since the King of Great Britain himself, in my condition, must have undergone the same distress.

My master, pursuant to the advice of his friend, carried me in a box the next market-day, to the neighbouring town, and took along with him his little daughter, my nurse, upon a pillion behind him. The box was close on every side, with a little door for me to go in and out, and a few gimlet-holes to let in air. The girl had been so careful as to put the quilt of her baby's bed into it, for me to lie down on. However, I was terribly shaken and discomposed in this journey, though it were but of half an hour. For the horse went about forty feet at every step, and trotted so high, that the agitation was equal to the rising and falling of a ship in a great storm, but much more frequent: our journey was somewhat farther than from London to St. Alban's. My master alighted at an inn which he used to frequent; and after consulting a while with the inn-keeper, and making some necessary preparations, he hired the *grultrud*, or crier, to give notice through the town, of a strange creature to be seen at the sign of the Green Eagle, not so big as a *splac-nuck* (an animal in that country very finely shaped, about six feet long) and in every part of the body resembling an human creature, could speak several words, and perform an hundred diverting tricks.

I was placed upon a table in the largest room of the inn, which might be near three hundred feet square. My little nurse stood on a low stool close to the table, to take care of me, and direct what I should do. My master, to
avoid

avoid a croud, would suffer only thirty people at a time to see me. I walked about on the table as the girl commanded: she asked me questions, as far as she knew my understanding of the language reached, and I answered them as loud as I could. I turned about several times to the company, paid my humble respects, said they were welcome, and used some other speeches I had been taught. I took up a thimble filled with liquor, which Glumdalclitch had given me for a cup, and drank their health. I drew out my hanger, and flourished with it after the manner of fencers in England. My nurse gave me part of a straw, which I exercised as a pike, having learned the art in my youth. I was that day shewn to twelve sets of company, and as often forced to act over again the same fopperies, till I was half dead with weariness and vexation. For those who had seen me made such wonderful reports, that the people were ready to break down the doors to come in. My master, for his own interest, would not suffer any one to touch me, except my nurse; and to prevent danger, benches were set round the table at such a distance, as to put me out of every body's reach. However, an unlucky school-boy aimed a hazel-nut directly at my head, which very narrowly missed me; otherwise, it came with so much violence, that it would have infallibly knocked out my brains, for it was almost as large as a small pompion: but I had the satisfaction to see the young rogue well beaten, and turned out of the room.

My master gave public notice, that he would shew me again the next market-day, and in the mean time he prepared a more convenient vehicle for me, which he had reason enough to do; for I was so tired with my first journey, and with entertaining company for eight hours together, that I could hardly stand upon my legs, or speak a word. It was at least three days before I recovered my strength; and that I might have no rest at home, all the neighbouring gentlemen, from an hundred miles round, hearing of my fame, came to see me at my master's own house. There could not be fewer than thirty persons with their wives and children (for the country is very populous;) and my master demanded the rate of a full room, whenever he shewed me at home, al-

though it were only to a single family : so that for some time I had but little ease every day of the week (except Wednesday, which is their Sabbath) although I were not carried to the town.

My master, finding how profitable I was like to be, resolved to carry me to the most considerable cities of the kingdom. Having therefore provided himself with all things necessary for a long journey, and settled his affairs at home, he took leave of his wife, and upon the 17th of August 1703, about two months after my arrival, we set out for the metropolis, situated near the middle of that empire, and about three thousand miles distance from our house : my master made his daughter Glumdalclitch ride behind him. She carried me on her lap in a box tied about her waist. The girl had lined it on all sides with the softest cloth she could get, well quilted underneath, furnished it with her baby's bed, provided me with linen and other necessaries, and made every thing as convenient as she could. We had no other company but a boy of the house, who rode after us with the luggage.

My master's design was to shew me in all the towns by the way, and to step out of the road for fifty or an hundred miles, to any village, or person of quality's house, where he might expect custom. We made easy journeys of not above seven or eight score miles a-day : for Glumdalclitch, on purpose to spare me, complained she was tired with the trotting of the horse. She often took me out of my box at my own desire, to give me air, and shew me the country, but always held me fast by a leading-string. We passed over five or six rivers many degrees broader and deeper than the Nile, or the Ganges ; and there was hardly a rivulet so small as the Thames at London-bridge. We were ten weeks in our journey, and I was shewn in eighteen large towns, besides many villages and private families.

On the 26th day of October, we arrived at the metropolis, called in their language Lorbrulgrud, or Pride of the Universe. My master took a lodging in the principal street of the city, not far from the royal palace, and put out bills in the usual form, containing an exact description of my person and parts. He hired a large room between three and four hundred feet wide. He provided a

table

table sixty feet in diameter, upon which I was to act my part, and pallisadoed it round three feet from the edge; and as many high, to prevent my falling over. I was shewn ten times a-day, to the wonder and satisfaction of all people. I could now speak the language tolerably well, and perfectly understood every word that was spoken to me. Besides, I had learned their alphabet, and could make a shift to explain a sentence here and there; for Glumdalclitch had been my instructor while we were at home, and at leisure hours during our journey. She carried a little book in her pocket, not much larger than a Samson's Atlas; it was a common treatise for the use of young girls, giving a short account of their religion; out of this she taught me my letters, and interpreted the words.

CHAP. III.

The author sent for to court. The Queen buys him of his master the farmer, and presents him to the King. He disputes with his Majesty's great scholars. An apartment at court provided for the author. He is in high favour with the Queen. He stands up for the honour of his own country. His quarrells with the Queen's dwarf.

THE frequent labours I underwent every day, made in few weeks a very considerable change in my health: the more my master got by me, the more insatiable he grew. I had quite lost my stomach, and was almost reduced to a skeleton. The farmer observed it, and, concluding I must soon die, resolved to make as good a hand of me as he could. While he was thus reasoning and resolving with himself, a *sardral*, or gentleman-usher, came from court, commanding my master to carry me immediately thither for the diversion of the Queen and her ladies. Some of the latter had already been to see me, and reported strange things of my beauty, behaviour, and good sense. Her Majesty, and those who attended her, were beyond measure delighted with my demeanour. I fell on my knees, and begged the honour of kissing her imperial foot; but this gracious princess

held out her little finger towards me (after I was set on a table) which I embraced in both my arms, and put the tip of it with the utmost respect to my lip. She made me some general questions about my country, and my travels, which I answered as distinctly, and in as few words as I could. She asked, whether I would be content to live at court. I bowed down to the board of the table, and humbly answered, that I was my master's slave; but if I were at my own disposal, I should be proud to devote my life to her Majesty's service. She then asked my master, whether he were willing to sell me at a good price. He, who apprehended I could not live a month, was ready enough to part with me, and demanded a thousand pieces of gold, which were ordered him on the spot, each piece being about the bigness of eight hundred moydores; but, allowing for the proportion of all things between that country and Europe, and the high price of gold among them, was hardly so great a sum as a thousand guineas would be in England. I then said to the Queen, since I was now her Majesty's most humble creature and vassal, I must beg the favour, that Glumdalclitch, who had always tended me with so much care and kindness, and understood to do it so well, might be admitted into her service, and continue to be my nurse and instructor. Her Majesty agreed to my petition, and easily got the farmer's consent, who was glad enough to have his daughter preferred at court, and the poor girl herself was not able to hide her joy: my late master withdrew, bidding me farewell, and saying he had left me in a good service; to which I replied not a word, only making him a slight bow.

The Queen observed my coldness, and, when the farmer was gone out of the apartment, asked me the reason. I made bold to tell her Majesty, that I owed no other obligation to my late master, than his not dashing out the brains of a poor harmless creature found by chance in his field; which obligation was amply recompensed by the gain he had made in shewing me through half the kingdom, and the price he had now sold me for. That the life I had since led, was laborious enough to kill an animal of ten times my strength. That my health was much impaired by the continual drudgery of enter-
taining

taining the rabble every hour of the day, and that, if my master had not thought my life in danger, her Majesty would not have got so cheap a bargain. But as I was out of all fear of being ill treated under the protection of so great and good an Empress, the ornament of nature, the darling of the world, the delight of her subjects, the phoenix of the creation; so, I hoped my late master's apprehensions would appear to be groundless, for I already found my spirits to revive by the influence of her most august presence.

This was the sum of my speech, delivered with great improprieties and hesitation; the latter part was altogether framed in the style peculiar to that people, whereof I learned some phrases from Glumdalclitch, while she was carrying me to court.

The Queen, giving great allowance for my defectiveness in speaking, was however surpris'd at so much wit and good sense in so diminutive an animal. She took me in her own hand, and carried me to the King, who was then retired to his cabinet. His Majesty, a prince of much gravity and austere countenance, not well observing my shape at first view, asked the Queen after a cold manner, how long it was since she grew fond of a *splacnuck*; for such it seems he took me to be, as I lay upon my breast in her Majesty's right hand. But this princess, who hath an infinite deal of wit and humour, set me gently on my feet upon the scrutore, and commanded me to give his Majesty an account of myself, which I did in a very few words; and Glumdalclitch, who attended at the cabinet door, and could not endure I should be out of her sight, being admitted, confirmed all that had passed from my arrival at her father's house.

The King, although he be as learned a person as any in his dominions, had been educated in the study of philosophy, and particularly mathematics; yet when he observed my shape exactly, and saw me walk erect, before I began to speak, conceived I might be a piece of clock-work (which is in that country arrived to a very great perfection) contrived by some ingenious artist. But when he heard my voice, and found what I delivered to be regular and rational, he could not conceal his astonishment. He was by no means satisfied with the relation I gave him.

him of the manner I came into his kingdom; but thought it a story concerted between Glumdalclitch and her father, who had taught me a set of words to make me sell at a better price. Upon this imagination he put several other questions to me, and still received rational answers, no otherwise defective than by a foreign accent, and an imperfect knowledge in the language, with some rustic phrases, which I had learned at the farmer's house, and did not suit the polite style of a court.

His Majesty sent for three great scholars, who were then in their weekly waiting according to the custom in that country. These gentlemen, after they had a while examined my shape with much nicety, were of different opinions concerning me. They all agreed, that I could not be produced according to the regular laws of nature, because I was not framed with a capacity of preserving my life either by swiftness, or climbing of trees, or digging holes in the earth. They observed by my teeth, which they viewed with great exactness, that I was a carnivorous animal; yet most quadrupeds being an overmatch for me, and field-mice with some others too nimble, they could not imagine how I should be able to support myself, unless I fed upon snails and other insects, which they offered, by many learned arguments, to evince that I could not possibly do*. One of these virtuosi seemed to think that I might be an embryo, or abortive birth. But this opinion was rejected by the other two, who observed my limbs to be perfect and finished, and that I had lived several years, as it was manifest from my beard, the stumps whereof they plainly discovered through a magnifying glass. They would not allow me to be a dwarf, because my littleness was beyond all degrees of comparison; for the Queen's favourite dwarf, the smallest ever known in that kingdom, was near thirty feet high. After much debate they concluded unanimously, that I was on-

* By this reasoning the author probably intended to ridicule the pride of those philosophers, who have thought fit to arraign the wisdom of Providence in the creation and government of the world; whose cavils are specious, like those of the Brobdignagian sages, only in proportion to the ignorance of those to whom they are proposed. *Hawkes.*

ly *relplum scalath*, which is interpreted literally *lusus naturæ*; a determination exactly agreeable to the modern philosophy of Europe, whose professors, disdaining the old evasion of *occult causes*, whereby the followers of Aristotle endeavoured in vain to disguise their ignorance, have invented this wonderful solution of all difficulties, to the unspeakable advancement of human knowledge.

After this decisive conclusion I entreated to be heard a word or two. I applied myself to the King, and assured his Majesty that I came from a country, which abounded with several millions of both sexes and of my own stature; where the animals, trees, and houses were all in proportion, and where by consequence I might be as able to defend myself, and to find sustenance, as any of his Majesty's subjects could do here; which I took for a full answer to those gentlemen's arguments. To this they only replied with a smile of contempt, saying, that the farmer had instructed me very well in my lesson*. The King, who had a much better understanding, dismissing his learned men, sent for the farmer, who by good fortune was not yet gone out of town; having therefore first examined him privately, and then confronted him with me and the young girl, his Majesty began to think that what we told him might possibly be true. He desired the Queen to order that a particular care should be taken of me, and was of opinion, that Glumdalclitch should still continue in her office of tending me, because he observed we had a great affection for each other. A convenient apartment was provided for her at court; she had a sort of governess appointed to take care of her education, a maid to dress her, and two other servants for menial offices; but the care of me was wholly appropriated to herself. The Queen commanded her own cabinet-maker to contrive a box, that might serve me for a bed-chamber, after the model that Glumdalclitch and I should agree upon. This man was a most ingenious artist, and according to my di-

* This satire is levelled against all, who reject those facts for which they cannot perfectly account, notwithstanding the absurdity of rejecting the testimony by which they are supported. *Hawkes.*

reflections in three weeks finished for me a wooden chamber of sixteen feet square, and twelve high, with sash-windows, a door, and two closets, like a London bed-chamber. The board, that made the cieling, was to be lifted up and down by two hinges to put in a bed ready furnished by her Majesty's upholsterer, which Glumdalclitch took out every day to air, made it with her own hands, and letting it down at night, locked up the roof over me. A nice workman, who was famous for little curiosities, undertook to make me two chairs, with backs and frames, of a substance not unlike ivory, and two tables, with a cabinet to put my things in. The room was quilted on all sides, as well as the floor and the cieling, to prevent any accident from the carelessness of those who carried me, and to break the force of a jolt when I went in a coach. I desired a lock for my door to prevent rats and mice from coming in: the smith, after several attempts, made the smallest that ever was seen among them, for I have known a larger at the gate of a gentleman's house in England. I made a shift to keep the key in a pocket of my own, fearing Glumdalclitch might lose it. The Queen likewise ordered the thinnest silks that could be gotten to make me cloaths, not much thicker than an English blanket, very cumbersome, till I was accustomed to them. They were after the fashion of the kingdom, partly resembling the Persian, and partly the Chinese, and are a very grave and decent habit.

The Queen became so fond of my company, that she could not dine without me. I had a table placed upon the same at which her Majesty eat, just at her left elbow, and a chair to sit on. Glumdalclitch stood on a stool on the floor near my table to assist and take care of me. I had an entire set of silver dishes and plates and other necessaries, which in proportion to those of the Queen, were not much bigger than what I have seen in a London toy-shop, for the furniture of a baby-house: these my little nurse kept in her pocket in a silver box, and gave me at meals as I wanted them, always cleaning them herself. No person dined with the Queen but the two Princesses royal, the elder sixteen years old, and the younger at that time thirteen and a month. Her Majesty used to put a bit of meat upon one of my dishes, out of which I carved for myself;

myself; and her diversion was to see me eat in miniature. For the Queen (who had indeed but a weak stomach) took up, at one mouthful, as much as a dozen English farmers could eat at a meal, which to me was for some time a very nauseous sight *. She would craunch the wing of a lark, bones and all, between her teeth, although it were nine times as large as that of a full grown turkey; and put a bit of bread in her mouth, as big as two twelve-penny loaves. She drank out of a golden cup, above a hog'shead at a draught. Her knives were twice as long as a scythe, set strait upon the handle. The spoons, forks, and other instruments, were all in the same proportion. I remember, when Glumdalclitch carried me out of curiosity to see some of the tables at court, where ten or a dozen of these enormous knives and forks were lifted up together, I thought I had never till then beheld so terrible a sight.

It is the custom, that every Wednesday (which, as I have before observed, is their Sabbath) the King and Queen, with the royal issue of both sexes, dine together in the apartment of his Majesty, to whom I was now become a great favourite; and at these times my little chair and table were placed at his left hand before one of the salt-cellars. This Prince took a pleasure in conversing with me, enquiring into the manners, religion, laws, government, and learning of Europe; wherein I gave him the best account I was able. His apprehension was so clear, and his judgment so exact, that he made very wise reflections.

* Among other dreadful and disgusting images which custom has rendered familiar, are those which arise from eating animal food. He who has ever turned with abhorrence from the skeleton of a beast which has been picked whole by birds, or vermin, must confess, that habit only could have enabled him to endure the sight of the mangled bones and flesh of a dead carcase which every day cover his table: and he who reflects on the number of lives that have been sacrificed to sustain his own, should enquire by what the account has been balanced, and whether his life is become proportionably of more value, by the exercise of virtue and piety, by the superior happiness, which he has communicated to reasonable beings, and by the glory which his intellect has ascribed to God, *Hawkes.*

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ctions and observations upon all I said. But I confess, that after I had been a little too copious in talking of my own beloved country, of our trade, and wars by sea and land, of our schisms in religion, and parties in the state; the prejudices of his education prevailed so far, that he could not forbear taking me up in his right hand, and stroaking me gently with the other, after an hearty fit of laughing, asked me, whether I was a Whig or Tory? Then turning to his first minister, who waited behind him with a white staff, near as tall as the main-mast of the Royal Sovereign, he observed how contemptible a thing was human grandeur, which could be minicked by such diminutive insects as I: and yet, says he, I dare engage, these creatures have their titles and distinctions of honour, they contrive little nests and burrows, that they call houses and cities; they make a figure in dress and equipage; they love, they fight, they dispute, they cheat, they betray. And thus he continued on, while my colour came and went several times with indignation to hear our noble country, the mistress of arts and arms, the scourge of France, the arbitress of Europe, the seat of virtue, piety, honour and truth, the pride and envy of the world, so contemptuously treated.

But as I was not in a condition to resent injuries, so upon mature thoughts I began to doubt whether I was injured or no. For, after having been accustomed several months to the sight and converse of this people, and observed every object upon which I cast mine eyes to be of proportionable magnitude, the horror I had at first conceived from their bulk and aspect, was so far worn off, that if I had then beheld a company of English lords and ladies in their finery, and birth-day cloaths, acting their several parts in the most courtly manner of strutting, and bowing, and prating; to say the truth, I should have been strongly tempted to laugh as much at them, as the King and his grantees did at me. Neither indeed could I forbear smiling at myself, when the Queen used to place me upon her hand towards a looking-glass, by which both our persons appeared before me in full view together; and there could nothing be more ridiculous than the comparison: so that I really began to imagine myself dwindled many degrees below my usual size.

Nothing

Nothing angered and mortified me so much, as the Queen's dwarf, who being of the lowest stature that was ever in that country (for I verily think he was not full thirty feet high) became so insolent at seeing a creature so much beneath him, that he would always affect to swagger, and look big as he passed by me in the Queen's anti-chamber, while I was standing on some table talking with the lords or ladies of the court, and he seldom failed of a smart word or two upon my littleness; against which I could only revenge myself by calling him brother, challenging him to wrestle, and such repartees as are usual in the mouths of *court pages*. One day, at dinner, this malicious little cubb was so nettled with something I had said to him, that, raising himself upon the frame of her Majesty's chair, he took me up by the middle, as I was sitting down, not thinking any harm, and let me drop into a large silver bowl of cream, and then ran away as fast as he could. I fell over head and ears, and, if I had not been a good swimmer, it might have gone very hard with me; for Glumdalclitch, in that instant, happened to be at the other end of the room, and the Queen was in such a fright, that she wanted presence of mind to assist me. But my little nurse ran to my relief, and took me out, after I had swallowed above a quart of cream. I was put to bed; however, I received no other damage than the loss of a suit of clothes, which was utterly spoiled. The dwarf was soundly whipped, and as a farther punishment, forced to drink up the bowl of cream, into which he had thrown me; neither was he ever restored to favour: for soon after the Queen bestowed him on a lady of high quality, so that I saw him no more, to my very great satisfaction; for I could not tell to what extremity such a malicious urchin might have carried his resentment.

He had before served me a scurvy trick, which set the Queen a-laughing, although at the same time she was heartily vexed, and would have immediately cashiered him, if I had not been so generous as to intercede. Her Majesty had taken a marrow-bone upon her plate, and, after knocking out the marrow, placed the bone again in the dish erect, as it stood before; the dwarf watching his opportunity, while Glumdalclitch was gone to the

side-board, mounted the stool that she stood on to take care of me at meals, took me up in both hands, and squeezing my legs together, wedged them into the marrow-bone above my waist, where I stuck for some time, and made a very ridiculous figure. I believe it was near a minute before any one knew what was become of me; for I thought it below me to cry out. But, as princes seldom get their meat hot, my legs were not scalded, only my stockings and breeches in a sad condition. The dwarf, at my entreaty, had no other punishment than a sound whipping.

I was frequently rallied by the Queen upon account of my fearfulness; and she used to ask me, whether the people of my country were as great cowards as myself? The occasion was this: the kingdom is much pestered with flies in summer, and these odious insects, each of them as big as a Dunstable lark, hardly gave me any rest while I sat at dinner with their continual humming and buzzing about mine ears. They would sometimes alight upon my victuals, and leave their loathsome excrement or spawn behind, which to me was very visible, though not to the natives of that country, whose large optics were not so acute as mine, in viewing smaller objects. Sometimes they would fix upon my nose or fore-head, where they stung me to the quick, smelling very offensively; and I could easily trace that viscous matter, which, our naturalists tell us, enables those creatures to walk with their feet upwards upon a cieling. I had much ado to defend myself against these detestable animals, and could not forbear starting when they came on my face. It was the common practice of the dwarf to catch a number of these insects in his hand, as school-boys do among us, and let them out suddenly under my nose, on purpose to frighten me, and divert the Queen. My remedy was to cut them in pieces with my knife, as they flew in the air, wherein my dexterity was much admired.

I remember, one morning, when Glumdalclitch had set me in my box upon a window, as she usually did in fair days, to give me air (for I durst not venture to let the box be hung on a nail out of the window, as we do with cages in England) after I had lifted up one of my fashies, and sat down at my table to eat a piece of sweet cake
for

Chap. IV. A VOYAGE TO BROBADINGNAG. I OF
for my breakfast, above twenty wasps, allured by the
smell, came flying into the room, humming louder than
the drones of as many bag-pipes. Some of them seized
my cake, and carried it piece-meal away; others flew a-
bout my head and face, confounding me with the noise,
and putting me in the utmost terror of their stings. How-
ever, I had the courage to rise and draw my hanger, and
attack them in the air. I dispatched four of them, but
the rest got away, and I presently shut my window.
These insects were as large as partridges; I took out
their stings, found them an inch and a half long, and as
sharp as needles. I carefully preserved them all, and
having since shewn them with some other curiosities in
several parts of Europe, upon my return to England, I
gave three of them to Gresham College, and kept the
fourth for myself.

CHAP. IV.

*The country described. A proposal for correcting mo-
dern maps. The King's palace, and some account of
the metropolis. The author's way of travelling. The
chief temple described.*

I Now intend to give the reader a short description of
this country, as far as I travelled in it, which was
not above two thousand miles round Lorbrulgrud, the
metropolis. For the Queen, whom I always attended,
never went farther when she accompanied the King in
his progresses, and there staid till his Majesty returned
from viewing his frontiers. The whole extent of this
Prince's dominions reacheth about six thousand miles in
length, and from three to five in breadth. From whence
I cannot but conclude, that our geographers of Europe
are in a great error, by supposing nothing but sea between
Japan and California; for it was ever my opinion, that
there must be a balance of earth to counterpoise the great
continent of Tartary; and therefore they ought to cor-
rect their maps and charts, by joining this vast tract of
land to the north-west parts of America, wherein I shall
be ready to lend them my assistance.

The kingdom is a peninsula, terminated to the north-east by a ridge of mountains, thirty miles high, which are altogether impassable, by reason of the volcanoes upon the tops: neither do the most learned know what sort of mortals inhabit beyond those mountains, or whether they be inhabited at all. On the three other sides it is bounded by the ocean. There is not one sea-port in the whole kingdom, and those parts of the coasts into which the rivers issue, are so full of pointed rocks, and the sea generally so rough, that there is no venturing with the smallest of their boats; so that these people are wholly excluded from any commerce with the rest of the world. But the large rivers are full of vessels, and abound with excellent fish, for they seldom get any from the sea, because the sea-fish are of the same size with those in Europe, and consequently not worth catching; whereby it is manifest, that nature, in the production of plants and animals of so extraordinary a bulk, is wholly confined to this continent, of which I leave the reasons to be determined by philosophers. However, now and then they take a whale, that happens to be dashed against the rocks, which the common people feed on heartily. These whales I have known so large, that a man could hardly carry one upon his shoulders; and sometimes for curiosity they are brought in hampers to Lorbrulgrud: I saw one of them in a dish at the King's table, which passed for a rarity, but I did not observe he was fond of it; for I think indeed the bigness disgusted him, although I have seen one somewhat larger in Greenland.

The country is well inhabited, for it contains fifty one cities, near an hundred walled towns, and a great number of villages. To satisfy my curious reader, it may be sufficient to describe Lorbrulgrud. This city stands upon almost two equal parts on each side the river that passes through. It contains above eighty thousand houses, and about six hundred thousand inhabitants. It is in length three *glomglungs*, (which make about fifty-four English miles) and two and a half in breadth, as I measured it myself in the royal map made by the King's order, which was laid on the ground on purpose for me, and extended on hundred feet; I paced the diameter and circumference several

several times bare foot, and, computing by the scale, measured it pretty exactly.

The King's palace is no regular edifice, but an heap of building about seven miles round: the chief rooms are generally two hundred and forty feet high, and broad and long in proportion. A coach was allowed to Glumdalclitch and me, wherein her governess frequently took her out to see the town, or go among the shops; and I was always of the party, carried in my box; although the girl, at my own desire, would often take me out, and hold me in her hand, that I might more conveniently view the houses and the people, as we passed along the streets. I reckoned our coach to be about the square of Westminster-hall, but not altogether so high: however, I cannot be very exact. One day the governess ordered our coachman to stop at several shops, where the beggars, watching their opportunity, crowded to the sides of the coach, and gave me the most horrible spectacles that ever an European eye beheld. There was a woman with a cancer in her breast, swelled to a monstrous size, full of holes, in two or three of which I could have easily crept, and covered my whole body. There was a fellow with a wen in his neck larger than five wooll-packs, and another with a couple of wooden legs, each about twenty feet high. But the most hateful sight of all was the lice crawling on their cloaths. I could see distinctly the limbs of these vermin with my naked eye, much better than those of an European louse through a microscope, and their snouts with which they rooted like swine. They were the first I had ever beheld, and I should have been curious enough to dissect one of them, if I had had proper instruments (which I unluckily left behind me in the ship) although indeed the sight was so nauseous, that it perfectly turned my stomach.

Beside the large box in which I was usually carried, the Queen ordered a smaller one to be made for me of about twelve feet square, and ten high, for the convenience of travelling, because the other was somewhat too large for Glumdalclitch's lap, and cumbersome in the coach: it was made by the same artist, whom I directed in the whole contrivance. This travelling-closet was an exact square with a window in the middle of three of the squares,

and each window was latticed with iron wire on the outside, to prevent accidents in long journeys. On the fourth side, which had no window, two strong staples were fixed, through which the person that carried me, when I had a mind to be on horseback, put a leathern belt, and buckled it about his waist. This was always the office of some grave trusty servant in whom I could confide, whether I attended the King and Queen in their progresses, or were disposed to see the gardens, or pay a visit to some great lady or minister of state in the court, when Glumdalclitch happened to be out of order: for I soon began to be known and esteemed among the greatest officers, I suppose more upon account of their Majesties favour than any merit of my own. In journeys, when I was weary of the coach, a servant on horseback would buckle on my box, and place it upon a cushion before him; and there I had a full prospect of the country on three sides from my three windows. I had in this closet a field-bed, and a hammock hung from the cieling, two chairs and a table, neatly screwed to the floor, to prevent being tossed about by the agitation of the horse or the coach. And having been long used to sea voyages, those motions, although sometimes very violent, did not much discompose me.

Whenever I had a mind to see the town, it was always in my travelling-closet, which Glumdalclitch held in her lap in a kind of open sedan, after the fashion of the country, borne by four men, and attended by two others in the Queen's livery. The people, who had often heard of me were very curious to crowd about the sedan, and the girl was complaisant enough to make the bearers stop, and to take me in her hand, that I might be more conveniently seen.

I was very desirous to see the chief temple, and particularly the tower belonging to it, which is reckoned the highest in the kingdom. Accordingly one day my nurse carried me thither, but I may truly say I came back disappointed; for the height is not above three thousand feet, reckoning from the ground to the highest pinnacle top; which, allowing for the difference between the size of those people and us in Europe, is no great matter for admiration, nor at all equal in proportion (if I rightly remember) to Salisbury steeple. But, not to detract from

from a nation to which during my life I shall acknowledge myself extremely obliged, it must be allowed that whatever this famous tower wants in height is amply made up in beauty and strength. For the walls are near an hundred feet thick, built of hewn stone, whereof each is about forty feet square, and adorned on all sides with statues of Gods and Emperors, cut in marble larger than the life, placed in their several niches. I measured a little finger which had fallen down from one of these statues, and lay unperceived among some rubbish, and found it exactly four feet and an inch in length. Glumdalclitch wrapped it up in her handkerchief; and carried it home in her pocket to keep among other trinkets, of which the girl was very fond; as children at her age usually are.

The King's kitchen is indeed a noble building, vaulted at top, and about six hundred feet high. The great oven is not so wide by ten paces as the cupola at St. Paul's: for I measured the latter on purpose after my return. But if I should describe the kitchen-grate, the prodigious pots and kettles, the joints of meat turning on the spits, with many other particulars, perhaps I should be hardly believed; at least a severe critic would be apt to think I enlarged a little, as travellers are often suspected to do. To avoid which censure, I fear I have run too much into the other extream; and that if this treatise should happen to be translated into the language of Brobdingnag; (which is the general name of that kingdom) and transmitted thither, the King and his people would have reason to complain, that I had done them an injury by a false and diminutive representation.

His Majesty seldom keeps above six hundred horses in his stables: they are generally from fifty-four to sixty feet high. But, when he goes abroad on solemn days, he is attended for state by a militia guard of five hundred horse, which indeed I thought was the most splendid sight that could be ever beheld, till I saw part of his army in battalia, whereof I shall find another occasion to speak.

C H A P. V.

Several adventures that happened to the author. The execution of a criminal. The author shews his skill in navigation.

I Should have lived happy enough in that country, if my littleness had not exposed me to several ridiculous and troublesome accidents: some of which I shall venture to relate. Glumdalclitch often carried me into the gardens of the court in my smaller box, and would sometimes take me out of it, and hold me in her hand, or set me down to walk. I remember, before the dwarf left the Queen, he followed us one day into those gardens, and my nurse having set me down, he and I being close together, near some dwarf apple-trees, I must need shew my wit by a silly allusion between him and the trees, which happens to hold in their language, as it doth in ours. Whereupon, the malicious rogue watching his opportunity, when I was walking under one of them, shook it directly over my head, by which a dozen apples, each of them near as large as a Bristol barrel came tumbling about my ears; one of them hit me on the back as I chanced to stoop, and knocked me down flat on my face; but I received no other hurt, and the dwarf was pardoned at my desire, because I had given the provocation.

Another day Glumdalclitch left me on a smooth grass-plot to divert myself, while she walked at some distance with her governess. In the mean time there suddenly fell such a violent shower of hail, that I was immediately by the force of it struck to the ground: and when I was down, the hail-stones gave me such cruel bangs all over the body, as if I had been pelted with tennis-balls; however, I made a shift to creep on all four, and shelter myself by lying flat on my face on the lee-side of a border of lemon-thyme, but so bruised from head to foot, that I could not go abroad in ten days. Neither is this at all to be wondered at, because nature in that country observing the same proportion through all her operations, a hail-stone is near eighteen hundred times as large as

one

one in Europe, which I can assert upon experience, having been so curious to weigh and measure them.

But a more dangerous accident happened to me in the same garden, when my little nurse believing she had put me in a secure place, which I often intreated her to do, that I might enjoy my own thoughts, and having left my box at home to avoid the trouble of carrying it, went to another part of the garden with her governess, and some ladies of her acquaintance. While she was absent, and out of hearing, a small white spaniel belonging to one of the chief gardeners, having got by accident into the garden, happened to range near the place where I lay: the dog, following the scent, came directly up, and taking me in his mouth ran strait to his master, wagging his tail, and set me gently on the ground. By good fortune he had been so well taught, that I was carried between his teeth without the least hurt, or even tearing my cloaths. But the poor gardener who knew me well, and had a great kindness for me, was in a terrible fright: he gently took me up in both his hands, and asked me how I did; but I was so amazed and out of breath, that I could not speak a word. In a few minutes I came to myself, and he carried me safe to my little nurse, who by this time had returned to the place where she left me, and was in cruel agonies when I did not appear, nor answer when she called: she severely reprimanded the gardener on account of his dog. But the thing was hushed up, and never known at court; for the girl was afraid of the Queen's anger, and truly, as to myself, I thought it would not be for my reputation that such a story should go about.

This accident absolutely determined Glumdalclitch never to trust me abroad for the future out of her sight. I had been long afraid of this resolution, and therefore concealed from her some little unlucky adventures that happened in those times when I was left by myself. Once a kite, hovering over the garden, made a stoop at me, and if I had not resolutely drawn my hanger, and run under a thick espalier, he would have certainly carried me away in his talons. Another time walking to the top of a fresh mole-hill, I fell to my neck in the hole, through which that animal had cast up the earth, and coined some lye, not worth remembering, to excuse myself for spoiling my cloaths.

cloaths. I likewise broke my right shin against the shell of a snail, which I happened to stumble over, as I was walking alone, and thinking on poor England.

I cannot tell, whether I were more pleased or mortified to observe in those solitary walks, that the smaller birds did not appear to be at all afraid of me, but would hop about within a yard's distance, looking for worms and other food, with as much indifference and security, as if no creature at all were near them. I remember, a thrush had the confidence to snatch out of my hand, with his bill, a piece of cake that Glumdalclith had just given me for my breakfast. When I attempted to catch any of these birds, they would boldly turn against me, endeavouring to pick my fingers, which I durst not venture within their reach; and then they would hop back unconcerned to hunt for worms or snails, as they did before. But one day I took a thick cudgel, and threw it with all my strength so luckily at a linnet, that I knocked him down, and seizing him by the neck with both my hands, ran with him in triumph to my nurse. However the bird, who had only been stunned, recovering himself, gave me so many boxes with his wings on both sides of my head and body, though I held him at arms length, and was out of the reach of his claws, that I was twenty times thinking to let him go. But I was soon relieved by one of our servants, who wrung off the bird's neck, and I had him next day for dinner by the Queen's command. This linnet, as near as I can remember, seemed to be somewhat larger than an England swan.

The maids of honour often invited Glumdalclith to their apartments, and desired she would bring me along with her, on purpose to have the pleasure of seeing and touching me. They would often strip me naked from top to toe, and lay me at full length in their bosoms, where-with I was much disgusted; because, to say the truth, a very offensive smell came from their skins; which I do not mention, or intend, to the disadvantage of those excellent ladies, for whom I have all manner of respect; but I conceive that my sense was more acute, in proportion to my littleness, and that those illustrious persons were no more disagreeable to their lovers, or to each other, than people of the same quality are with us in England.

And,

And, after all, I found their natural smell was much more supportable than when they used perfumes, under which I immediately swooned away. I cannot forget that an intimate friend of mine in Lilliput took the freedom in a warm day, when I had used a good deal of exercise, to complain of a strong smell about me, although I am as little faulty that way, as most of my sex: but I suppose his faculty of smelling was as nice with regard to me, as mine was to that of this people. Upon this point I cannot forbear doing justice to the Queen my mistress, and Glumdalclitch my nurse, whose persons were as sweet as those of any lady in England.

That which gave me most uneasiness among these maids of honour (when my nurse carried me to visit them) was to see them use me without any manner of ceremony, like a creature who had no sort of consequence: for they would strip themselves to the skin, and put on their smocks in my presence, while I was placed on their toylet, directly before their naked bodies, which I am sure to me was very far from being a tempting sight, or from giving me any other emotions than those of horror and disgust. Their skins appeared so coarse and uneven, so variously coloured, when I saw them near, with a mole here and there as broad as a trencher, and hairs hanging from it thicker than pack-threads; to say nothing farther concerning the rest of their persons. Neither did they at all scruple, while I was by, to discharge what they had drank, to the quantity of at least two hogsheds in a vessel that held above three tuns. The handsomest among those maids of honour, a pleasant frolicsome girl of sixteen, would sometimes set me astride upon one of her nipples, with many other tricks, wherein the reader will excuse me for not being over particular. But I was so much displeased, that I entreated Glumdalclitch to contrive some excuse for not seeing that young lady any more.

One day a young gentleman, who was nephew to my nurse's governess, came and pressed them both to see an execution. It was of a man who had murdered one of that gentleman's intimate acquaintance. Glumdalclitch was prevailed on to be of the company, very much against her inclination, for she was naturally tender-hearted: and as for myself, although I abhorred such kind of spectacles, yet

yet my curiosity tempted me to see something, that I thought must be extraordinary. The malefactor was fixed in a chair upon a scaffold erected for that purpose, and his head cut off at one blow with a sword of about forty feet long. The veins and arteries spouted up such a prodigious quantity of blood, and so high in the air, that the great Jett d'eau at Versailles was not equal for the time it lasted; and the head, when it fell on the scaffold floor, gave such a bounce as made me start, although I were at least half an English mile distant.

The Queen, who often used to hear me talk of my sea-voyages, and took all occasions to divert me when I was melancholy, asked me whether I understood how to handle a sail or an oar, and whether a little exercise of rowing might not be convenient for my health: I answered, that I understood both very well: for although my proper employment had been to be surgeon or doctor to the ship, yet often upon a pinch I was forced to work like a common mariner. But I could not see how this could be done in their country, where the smallest wherry was equal to a first-rate man of war among us, and such a boat as I could manage would never live in any of their rivers. Her Majesty said, if I would contrive a boat, her own joiner should make it, and she would provide a place for me to sail in. The fellow was an ingenious workman, and by my instructions in ten days finished a pleasure-boat, with all its tackling, able conveniently to hold eight Europeans. When it was finished, the Queen was so delighted, that she ran with it in her lap to the King, who ordered it to be put in a cistern full of water with me in it by way of trial; where I could not manage my two sculls, or little oars, for want of room. But the Queen had before contrived another project. She ordered the joiner to make a wooden trough of three hundred feet long, fifty broad, and eight deep; which being well pitched, to prevent leaking, was placed on the floor along the wall in an outer room of the palace. It had a cock near the bottom to let out the water, when it began to grow stale; and two servants could easily fill it in half an hour. Here I often used to row for my own diversion, as well as that of the Queen and her ladies, who thought themselves well entertained with my skill and agility. Sometimes

Chap. V. A VOYAGE TO BROBDINGNAG. III

times I would put up my sail, and then my business was only to steer, while the ladies gave me a gale with their fans; and when they were weary, some of the pages would blow my sail forward with their breath, while I shewed my art by steering starboard or larboard, as I pleased. When I had done, Glumdalclitch always carried back my boat into her closet, and hung it on a nail to dry.

In this exercise I once met an accident, which had like to have cost me my life: for one of the pages having put my boat into the trough, the governess, who attended Glumdalclitch, very officiously lifted me up to place me in the boat, but I happened to slip through her fingers, and should infallibly have fallen down forty feet upon the floor, if, by the luckiest chance in the world, I had not been stopped by a corking-pin that stuck in the good gentlewoman's stomacher; the head of the pin passed between my shirt and the waistband of my breeches, and thus I was held by the middle in the air, till Glumdalclitch ran to my relief.

Another time, one of the servants, whose office it was to fill my trough every third day with fresh water, was so careless to let a huge frog (not perceiving it) slip out of his pail. The frog lay concealed till I was put into my boat, but then seeing a resting-place climbed up, and made it lean so much on one side, that I was forced to balance it with all my weight on the other to prevent overturning. When the frog was got in, it hopped at once half the length of the boat, and then over my head, backwards and forwards, daubing my face and clothes with its odious slime. The largeness of its features made it appear the most deformed animal that can be conceived. However, I desired Glumdalclitch to let me deal with it alone. I banged it a good while with one of my sculls, and at last forced it to leap out of the boat.

But the greatest danger I ever underwent in that kingdom, was from a monkey, who belonged to one of the clerks of the kitchen. Glumdalclitch had locked me up in her closet, while she went somewhere upon business, or a visit. The weather being very warm, the closet-window was left open, as well as the windows and the door of my bigger box, in which I usually lived, because of its largeness and-conveniency. As I sat quietly medi-

tating at my table, I heard something bounce in at the closet-window, and skip about from one side to the other : whereat although I were much alarmed, yet I ventured to look out, but not stirring from my seat ; and then I saw this frolicsome animal frisking and leaping up and down, till at last he came to my box, which he seemed to view with great pleasure and curiosity, peeping in at the door and every window. I retreated to the farther corner of my room, or box, but the monkey looking in at every side put me into such a fright, that I wanted presence of mind to conceal myself under the bed, as I might easily have done. After some time spent in peeping, grinning, and chattering, he at last espied me, and reaching one of his paws in at the door, as a cat does when she plays with a mouse, although I often shifted place to avoid him, he at length seized the lappet of my coat (which, being made of that country silk, was very thick and strong) and dragged me out. He took me up in his right fore-foot, and held me as a nurse does a child she is going to suckle, just as I have seen the same sort of creature do with a kitten in Europe ; and when I offered to struggle, he squeezed me so hard, that I thought it more prudent to submit. I have good reason to believe, that he took me for a young one of his own species, by his often stroaking my face very gently with his other paw. In these diversions he was interrupted by a noise at the closet-door, as if somebody were opening it ; whereupon he suddenly leaped up to the window, at which he had come in, and thence upon the leads and gutters, walking upon three legs, and holding me in the fourth, till he clambered up to a roof that was next to ours. I heard Glumdalclitch give a shriek at the moment he was carrying me out. The poor girl was almost distracted ; that quarter of the palace was all in an uproar ; the servants ran for ladders ; the monkey was seen by hundreds in the court, sitting upon the ridge of a building, holding me like a baby in one of his fore-paws, and feeding me with the other, by cramming into my mouth some victuals he had squeezed out of the bag on one side of his chaps, and patting me when I would not eat ; whereat many of the rabble below could not forbear laughing ; neither do I think they justly ought to be blamed, for without question the sight was ridiculous enough

enough to every body but myself. Some of the people threw up stones, hoping to drive the monkey down ; but this was strictly forbidden, or else very probably my brains had been dashed out.

The ladders were now applied, and mounted by several men, which the monkey observing, and finding himself almost encompassed ; not being able to make speed enough with his three legs, let me drop on a ridge tyle, and made his escape. Here I sat for some time, five hundred yards from the ground, expecting every moment to be blown down by the wind, or to fall by my own giddiness, and come tumbling over and over from the ridge to the eves : but an honest lad, one of my nurse's footmen, climbed up, and putting me into his breeches-pocket brought me down safe.

I was almost choaked with the filthy stuff the monkey had crammed down my throat ; but my dear little nurse picked it out of my mouth with a small needle, and then I fell a vomiting, which gave me great relief. Yet I was so weak, and bruised in the sides with the squeezes given me by this odious animal, that I was forced to keep my bed a fortnight. The King, Queen, and all the court, sent every day to enquire after my health, and her Majesty made me several visits during my sickness. The monkey was killed, and an order made that no such animal should be kept about the palace.

When I attended the King after my recovery to return him thanks for his favours, he was pleased to rally me a good deal upon this adventure. He asked me, what my thoughts and speculations were while I lay in the monkey's paw ; how I liked the victuals he gave me ; his manner of feeding ; and whether the fresh air on the roof had sharpened my stomach. He desired to know, what I would have done upon such an occasion in my own country. I told his Majesty, that in Europe we had no monkeys, except such as were brought for curiosities from other places, and so small, that I could deal with a dozen of them together, if they presumed to attack me. And as for that monstrous animal with whom I was so lately engaged (it was indeed as large as an elephant) if my fears had suffered me to think so far as to make use of my hanger (looking fiercely, and clapping my hand upon the hilt, as

I spoke) when he poked his paw into my chamber, perhaps I should have given him such a wound, as would have made him glad to withdraw it with more haste than he put it in. This I delivered in a firm tone, like a person who was jealous lest his courage should be called in question. However, my speech produced nothing else besides a loud laughter, which all the respect due to his Majesty from those about him could not make them contain. This made me reflect, how vain an attempt it is for a man to endeavour to do himself honour among those, who are out of all degree of equality or comparison with him. And yet I have seen the moral of my own behaviour very frequent in England since my return, where a little contemptible varlet, without the least title to birth, person, wit, or common sense, shall presume to look with importance, and put himself upon a foot with the greatest persons of the kingdom.

I was every day furnishing the court with some ridiculous story; and Glumdalclitch, although she loved me to excess, yet was arch enough to inform the Queen, whenever I committed any folly that she thought would be diverting to her Majesty. The girl, who had been out of order, was carried by her governess to take the air about an hour's distance, or thirty miles from town. They alighted out of the coach near a small foot-path in a field, and Glumdalclitch setting down my travelling-box, I went out of it to walk. There was a cow-dung in the path, and I must need try my activity by attempting to leap over it. I took a run, but unfortunately jumped short, and found myself just in the middle up to my knees. I waded through with some difficulty, and one of the footmen wiped me as clean as he could with his handkerchief; for I was filthily bemired, and my nurse confined me to my box, till we returned home; where the Queen was soon informed of what had passed, and the footmen spread it about the court; so that all the mirth for some days was at my expence.

CHAP. VI*.

Several contrivances of the author to please the King and Queen. He shews his skill in music. The King enquires into the state of England, which the author relates to him. The King's observations thereon.

I Used to attend the King's levee once or twice a week, and had often seen him under the barber's hand, which indeed was at first very terrible to behold : for the razor was almost twice as long as an ordinary scythe. His Majesty, according to the custom of the country, was only shaved twice a week. I once prevailed on the barber to give me some of the suds or lather, out of which I picked forty or fifty of the strongest stumps of hair. I then took a piece of fine wood, and cut it like the back of a

* In this chapter the author gives an account of the political state of Europe. His observations are delivered with his usual spirit of humour and severity. He appears most particularly affected with the proceedings of the courts of judicature, and complains of being almost ruined by a chancery-suit, which was *determined in his favour with costs*. It must be confessed, that instances of this kind are too frequent in our courts of justice ; and they leave us no room to boast of the execution of our present laws, however excellent the laws, in their own original foundation, may have been. *Judgment, when turned into wormwood, is bitter ; but delays, as Lord Bacon observes, turn it into vinegar.* It becomes sharp and corroding : and certainly it is more eligible to die immediately by the wound of an enemy, than to decay lingering by poison, administered from a seeming friend. *Orrery* 4.

The Noble commentator is mistaken as to his first observation ; for Gulliver has here given a political account of no country but England. It is however a mistake to which any commentator would have been liable, who had read little more than the titles or contents of the chapters, into which this work is divided ; for the word *Europe* has, in some English, and all the Irish editions, been printed in the title of this chapter, instead of *England*. *Hawkes*.

comb, making several holes in it at equal distance with as small a needle as I could get from Glumdalclitch. I fixed in the stumps so artificially, scraping and sloping them with my knife towards the points, that I made a very tolerable comb; which was a seasonable supply, my own being so much broken in the teeth, that it was almost useless: neither did I know any artist in that country so nice and exact, as would undertake to make me another.

And this puts me in mind of an amusement, wherein I spent many of my leisure hours. I desired the Queen's woman to save for me the combings of her Majesty's hair, whereof in time I got a good quantity, and consulting with my friend the cabinet-maker, who had received general orders to do little jobs for me, I directed him to make two chair-frames, no larger than those I had in my box, and then to bore little holes with a fine awl round those parts where I designed the backs and seats; through these holes I wove the strongest hairs I could pick out, just after the manner of cane-chairs in England. When they were finished, I made a present of them to her Majesty, who kept them in her cabinet, and used to shew them for curiosities, as indeed they were the wonder of every one that beheld them. The Queen would have had me sit upon one of those chairs, but I absolutely refused to obey her, protesting I would rather die a thousand deaths than place a dishonourable part of my body on those precious hairs that once adorned her Majesty's head. Of these hairs (as I had always a mechanical genius) I likewise made a neat little purse about five feet long, with her Majesty's name decyphered in gold letters, which I gave to Glumdalclitch by the Queen's consent. To say the truth, it was more for shew than use, being not of strength to bear the weight of the larger coins, and therefore she kept nothing in it but some little toys that girls are fond of.

The King, who delighted in music, had frequent concerts at court, to which I was sometimes carried, and set in my box on a table to hear them: but the noise was so great, that I could hardly distinguish the tunes. I am confident, that all the drums and trumpets of a royal army, beating and sounding together just at your ears, could not equal it.

My

My practice was to have my box removed from the place where the performers sat, as far as I could, then to shut the doors and windows of it, and draw the window-curtains ; after which I found their music not disagreeable.

I had learned in my youth to play a little upon the spinet. Glumdalclitch kept one in her chamber, and a master attended twice a week to teach her : I called it a spinet, because it somewhat resembled that instrument, and was played upon in the same manner. A fancy came into my head, that I would entertain the King and Queen with an English tune upon this instrument. But this appeared extremely difficult : for the spinet was near sixty feet long, each key being almost a foot wide, so that with my arms extended I could not reach to above five keys, and to press them down required a good smart stroke with my fist, which would be too great a labour, and to no purpose. The method I contrived was this : I prepared two round sticks about the bigness of common cudgels ; they were thicker at one end than the other, and I covered the thicker ends with a piece of a mouse's skin, that by rapping on them, I might neither damage the tops of the keys, nor interrupt the sound. Before the spinet a bench was placed about four feet below the keys, and I was put upon the bench. I ran sideling upon it that way and this, as fast as I could, banging the proper keys with my two sticks, and made a shift to play a jig to the great satisfaction of both their Majesties : but it was the most violent exercise I ever underwent, and yet I could not strike above sixteen keys, nor consequently play the bass and treble together, as other artists do ; which was a great disadvantage to my performance.

The King, who, as I before observed, was a prince of excellent understanding, would frequently order that I should be brought in my box, and set upon the table in his closet : he would then command me to bring one of my chairs out of the box, and sit down within three yards distance upon the top of the cabinet, which brought me almost to a level with his face. In this manner I had several conversations with him. I one day took the freedom to tell his Majesty, that the contempt he discovered towards Europe, and the rest of the world, did not seem answerable to those excellent qualities of mind that he was

was master of : that reason did not extend itself with the bulk of the body ; on the contrary, we observed in our country, that the tallest persons were usually least provided with it : that among other animals, bees and ants had the reputation of more industry, art and sagacity, than many of the larger kinds ; and that, as inconsiderable as he took me to be, I hoped I might live to do his Majesty some signal service. The king heard me with attention, and began to conceive a much better opinion of me than he had ever before. He desired I would give him as exact an account of the government of England, as I possibly could ; because, as fond as princes commonly are of their own customs, (for so he conjectured of other monarchs by my former discourses) he should be glad to hear of any thing that might deserve imitation.

Imagine with thyself, courteous reader, how often I then wished for the tongue of Demosthenes or Cicero, that might have enabled me to celebrate the praise of my own dear native country in a style equal to its merits and felicity.

I began my discourse by informing his Majesty, that our dominions consisted of two islands, which composed three mighty kingdoms under one sovereign, besides our plantations in America. I dwelt long upon the fertility of our soil, and the temperature of our climate. I then spoke at large upon the constitution of an English parliament, partly made up of an illustrious body called the house of peers, persons of the noblest blood, and of the most antient and ample patrimonies. I described that extraordinary care always taken of their education in arts and arms, to qualify them for being counsellors both to the king and kingdom ; to have a share in the legislature ; to be members of the highest court of judicature, from whence there could be no appeal ; and to be champions always ready for the defence of their prince and country, by their valour, conduct, and fidelity. That these were the ornament and bulwark of the kingdom, worthy followers of their most renowned ancestors, whose honour had been the reward of their virtue, from which their posterity were never once known to degenerate. To these were joined several holy persons as part of that assembly, under the title of bishops, whose peculiar business it is to take care

of religion, and of those who instruct the people therein. These were searched and sought out through the whole nation, by the prince and his wisest counsellors among such of the priesthood, as were most deservedly distinguished by the sanctity of their lives, and the depth of their erudition, who were indeed the spiritual fathers of the clergy and the people.

That the other part of the parliament consisted of an assembly called the house of commons, who were all principal gentlemen, *freely* picked and culled out by the people themselves, for their great abilities and love of their country, to represent the wisdom of the whole nation. And that these two bodies made up the most august assembly in Europe, to whom in conjunction with the prince the whole legislature is committed.

I then descended to the courts of justice, over which the judges, those venerable sages and interpreters of the law, presided for determining the disputed rights and properties of men, as well as for the punishment of vice, and protection of innocence. I mentioned the prudent management of our treasury, the valour and achievements of our forces by sea and land. I computed the number of our people, by reckoning how many millions there might be of each religious sect, or political party among us. I did not omit even our sports and pastimes, or any other particular, which I thought might redound to the honour of my country. And I finished all with a brief historical account of affairs and events in England for about an hundred years past.

This conversation was not ended under five audiences, each of several hours; and the king heard the whole with great attention, frequently taking notes of what I spoke, as well as memorandums of what questions he intended to ask me.

When I had put an end to these long discourses, his Majesty in a sixth audience consulting his notes proposed many doubts, queries and objections upon every article. He asked what methods were used to cultivate the minds and bodies of our young nobility, and in what kind of business they commonly spent the first and teachable part of their lives. What course was taken to supply that assembly when any noble family became extinct. What qualifications

qualifications were necessary in those who are to be created new lords: whether the humour of the prince, a sum of money to a court lady or a prime minister, or a design of strengthening a party opposite to the public interest, ever happened to be motives in those advancements. What share of knowledge these lords had in the laws of their country, and how they came by it, so as to enable them to decide the properties of their fellow-subjects in the last resort. Whether they were always so free from avarice, partialities, or want, that a bribe or some other sinister view could have no place among them. Whether those holy lords I spoke of were always promoted to that rank upon account of their knowledge in religious matters, and the sanctity of their lives; had never been compliers with the times while they were common priests, or slavish prostitute chaplains to some nobleman, whose opinions they continued servilely to follow after they were admitted into that assembly.

He then desired to know, what arts were practised in electing those whom I called commoners: whether a stranger with a strong purse might not influence the vulgar voters to chuse him before their own landlord, or the most considerable gentleman in the neighbourhood. How it came to pass, that people were so violently bent upon getting into this assembly, which I allowed to be a great trouble and expence, often to the ruin of their families, without any salary or pension: because this appeared such an exalted strain of virtue and public spirit, that his Majesty seemed to doubt it might possibly not be always sincere: and he desired to know, whether such zealous gentlemen could have any views of refunding themselves for the charges and trouble they were at, by sacrificing the public good to the designs of a weak and vicious prince, in conjunction with a corrupted ministry. He multiplied his questions, and sifted me thoroughly upon every part of this head, proposing numberless enquiries and objections, which I think it not prudent or convenient to repeat.

Upon what I said in relation to our courts of justice, his Majesty desired to be satisfied in several points: and this I was the better able to do, having been formerly almost ruined by a long suit in chancery, which was decreed

creed for me with costs. He asked what time was usually spent in determining between right and wrong, and what degree of expence. Whether advocates and orators had liberty to plead in causes manifestly known to be unjust, vexatious, or oppressive. Whether party in religion or politics were observed to be of any weight in the scale of justice. Whether those pleading orators were persons educated in the general knowledge of equity, or only in provincial, national, and other local customs. Whether they or their judges had any part in penning those laws, which they assumed the liberty of interpreting and glossing upon at their pleasure. Whether they had ever at different times, pleaded for and against the same cause, and cited precedents to prove contrary opinions. Whether they were a rich or a poor corporation. Whether they received any pecuniary reward for pleading or delivering their opinions. And particularly, whether they were ever admitted as members in the lower senate.

He fell next upon the management of our treasury; and said, he thought my memory had failed me, because I computed our taxes at about five or six millions a-year, and, when I came to mention the issues, he found they sometimes amounted to more than double: for the notes he had taken were very particular in this point, because he hoped, as he told me, that the knowledge of our conduct might be useful to him, and he could not be deceived in his calculations. But, if what I told him were true, he was still at a loss how a kingdom could run out of its estate like a private person. He asked me, who were our creditors; and where we found money to pay them. He wondered to hear me talk of such chargeable and expensive wars; that certainly we must be a quarrelsome people, or live among very bad neighbours, and that our generals must needs be richer than our kings. He asked what business we had out of our own islands, unless upon the score of trade or treaty, or to defend the coasts with our fleet. Above all, he was amazed to hear me talk of a mercenary standing army in the midst of peace, and among a free people. He said, if we were governed by our own consent, in the persons of our representatives, he could not imagine of whom we were afraid, or against whom we were to fight; and would hear my opinion, whether a
private

private man's house might not better be defended by himself, his children, and family, than by half a dozen rascals, picked up at a venture in the streets for small wages, who might get an hundred times more by cutting their throats.

He laughed at my odd kind of arithmetic (as he was pleased to call it) in reckoning the numbers of our people by a computation drawn from the several sects among us, in religion and politics. He said, he knew no reason why those, who entertain opinions prejudicial to the public, should be obliged to change, or should not be obliged to conceal them. And as it was tyranny in any government to require the first, so it was weakness not to enforce the second: for a man may be allowed to keep poisons in his closet, but not to vend them about for cordials.

He observed, that among the diversions of our nobility and gentry, I had mentioned gaming; he desired to know at what age this entertainment was usually taken up, and when it was laid down; how much of their time it employed: whether it ever went so high as to affect their fortunes: whether mean vicious people by their dexterity in that art, might not arrive at great riches, and sometimes keep our very nobles in dependance, as well as habituate them to vile companions, wholly take them from the improvement of their minds, and force them by the losses they received, to learn and practise that infamous dexterity upon others.

He was perfectly astonished with the historical account I gave him of our affairs during the last century, protesting it was only a heap of conspiracies, rebellions, murders, massacres, revolutions, banishments, the very worst effects that avarice, faction, hypocrisy, perfidiousness, cruelty, rage, madness, hatred, envy, lust, malice, and ambition could produce.

His Majesty, in another audience, was at the pains to recapitulate the sum of all I had spoken; compared the questions he made, with the answers I had given; then taking me into his hands, and stroking me gently, delivered himself in these words, which I shall never forget, nor the manner he spoke them in: My little friend Gridrig, you have made a most admirable panegyric upon your country: you have clearly proved, that ignorance,
idle-

idleness, and vice are the proper ingredients for qualifying a legislator; that laws are best explained, interpreted, and applied by those whose interest and abilities lie in perverting, confounding, and eluding them. I observe among you some lines of an institution, which in its original might have been tolerable, but these half erased, and the rest wholly blurred and blotted by corruptions. It doth not appear from all you have said, how any one perfection is required toward the procurement of any one station among you; much less that men are ennobled on account of their virtue, that priests are advanced for their piety or learning, soldiers for their conduct or valour, judges for their integrity, senators for the love of their country, or counsellors for their wisdom. As for yourself, continued the King, who have spent the greatest part of your life in travelling, I am well disposed to hope you may hitherto have escaped many vices of your country. But by what I have gathered from your own relation, and the answers I have with much pains wringed and extorted from you, I cannot but conclude the bulk of your natives to be the most pernicious race of little odious vermin, that nature ever suffered to crawl upon the surface of the earth.

C H A P. VII*.

The author's love of his country. He makes a proposal of much advantage to the King, which is rejected. The King's great ignorance in politics. The learning of that country very imperfect and confined. The laws, and military affairs, and parties in the state.

NOTHING but an extreme love of truth could have hindered me from concealing this part of my story. It was in vain to discover my resentments, which were

* This chapter contains such sarcasms on the structure of the human body, as too plainly shew, that the author was unwilling to lose any opportunity of debasing and ridiculing his own species.—Here a reflection naturally occurs, which, without any superstition, leads tacitly to admire and confess the ways of Providence. For this great genius, this mighty wit, who

were always turned into ridicule ; and I was forced to rest with patience, while my noble and most beloved country was so injuriously-treated. I am as heartily sorry as any of my readers can possibly be, that such an occasion was given : but this prince happened to be so curious and inquisitive upon every particular, that it could not consist either with gratitude or good manners to refuse giving him what satisfaction I was able. Yet thus much I may be allowed to say in my own vindication, that I artfully eluded many of his questions, and gave to every point a more favourable turn by many degrees than the strictness of truth would allow. For I have always borne that laudable partiality to my own country, which Dionysius Halicarnassensis with so much justice recommends to an historian : I would hide the frailties and deformities of my political mother, and place her virtues and beauties in the most advantageous light. This was my sincere endeavour in those many discourses I had with that monarch, although it unfortunately failed of success.

But great allowances should be given to a King, who lives wholly secluded from the rest of the world, and must therefore be altogether unacquainted with the manners and customs that most prevail in other nations : the want of which knowledge will ever produce many *prejudices*, and a certain *narrowness of thinking*, from which we and the politer countries of Europe are wholly exempted. And it would be hard indeed, if so remote a prince's notions of virtue and vice were to be offered as a standard for all mankind.

To confirm what I have now said, and further to shew the miserable effects of a *confined education*, I shall here insert a passage which will hardly obtain belief. In hopes to ingratiate myself farther into his Majesty's favour, I told him of an invention discovered between three and four hundred years ago to make a certain powder, into an heap of which the smallest spark of fire falling would kindle the whole in a moment, although it were

seemed to scoff and scorn at all mankind, lived not only to be an example to punish his own pride, and to terrify ours, but underwent some of the greatest miseries to which human nature is liable. *Errery.*—See the author's life, prefixed to vol. I.

as big as a mountain, and make it all fly up in the air together, with a noise and agitation greater than thunder. That a proper quantity of this powder rammed into an hollow tube of brass or iron, according to its bigness, would drive a ball of iron or lead with such violence and speed, as nothing was able to sustain its force. That the largest balls thus discharged would not only destroy whole ranks of an army at once, but batter the strongest walls to the ground, sink down ships, with a thousand men in each, to the bottom of the sea; and, when linked together by a chain, would cut through masts and rigging, divide hundreds of bodies in the middle, and lay all waste before them. That we often put this powder into large hollow balls of iron, and discharged them by an engine into some city we were besieging, which would rip up the pavements, tear the houses to pieces, burst and throw splinters on every side, dashing out the brains of all who came near. That I knew the ingredients very well, which were cheap and common; I understood the manner of compounding them, and could direct his workmen how to make those tubes of a size proportionable to all other things in his Majesty's kingdom, and the largest need not be above an hundred feet long; twenty or thirty of which tubes, charged with the proper quantity of powder and balls, would batter down the walls of the strongest town in his dominions in a few hours, or destroy the whole metropolis, if ever it should pretend to dispute his absolute commands. This I humbly offered to his Majesty, as a small tribute of acknowledgment in return of so many marks that I had received of his royal favour and protection.

The king was struck with horror at the description I had given of those terrible engines, and the proposal I had made. He was amazed, how so impotent and groveling an insect as I (these were his expressions) could entertain such inhuman ideas, and in so familiar a manner, as to appear wholly unmoved at all the scenes of blood and desolation, which I had painted as the common effects of those destructive machines, whereof he said some evil genius, enemy to mankind, must have been the first contriver. As for himself, he protested, that although few things delighted him so much as new discoveries in art or in nature,

yet he would rather lose half his kingdom, than be privy to such a secret, which he commanded me, as I valued my life, never to mention any more.

A strange effect of *narrow principles* and *short views* ! that a prince possessed of every quality which procures veneration, love, and esteem ; of strong parts, great wisdom, and profound learning, endowed with admirable talents for government, and almost adored by his subjects, should from a *nice unnecessary scruple*, whereof in Europe we can have no conception, let slip an opportunity put into his hands, that would have made him absolute master of the lives, the liberties, and the fortunes of his people. Neither do I say this with the least intention to detract from the many virtues of that excellent king, whose character I am sensible will on this account be very much lessened in the opinion of an English reader : but I take this defect among them to have risen from their ignorance, by not having hitherto reduced politics into a science, as the more acute wits of Europe have done. For I remember very well in a discourse one day with the King, when I happened to say there were several thousand books among us written upon the *art of government*, it gave him (directly contrary to my intention) a very mean opinion of our understandings. He professed both to abominate and despise all *mystery, refinement, and intrigue*, either in a Prince or a Minister. He could not tell what I meant by *secrets of state*, where an enemy, or some rival nation, were not in the case. He confined the knowledge of governing within very *narrow bounds*, to common sense and reason, to justice and lenity, to the speedy determination of civil and criminal causes ; with some other obvious topics, which are not worth considering. And he gave it for his opinion, that whoever could make two ears of corn, or two blades of grass, to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind, and do more essential service to his country, than the whole race of politicians put together.

The learning of this people is very defective, consisting only in morality, history, poetry, and mathematics, wherein they must be allowed to excel. But the last of these is wholly applied to what may be useful in life, to the improvement of agriculture, and all mechanical arts ; so that
among

among us it would be little esteemed. And as to ideas, entities, abstractions, and transcendentals, I could never drive the least conception into their heads.

No law of that country must exceed in words the number of letters in their alphabet, which consists only in two and twenty. But indeed few of them extend even to that length. They are expressed in the most plain and simple terms, wherein those people are not mercurial enough to discover above one interpretation: and to write a comment upon any law is a capital crime. As to the decision of civil causes, or proceedings against criminals, their precedents are so few, that they have little reason to boast of any extraordinary skill in either.

They have had the art of printing, as well as the Chinese, time out of mind: but their libraries are not very large; for that of the King, which is reckoned the largest, doth not amount to above a thousand volumes, placed in a gallery of twelve hundred feet long, from whence I had liberty to borrow what books I pleased. The Queen's joiner had contrived in one of Glumdalclitch's rooms a kind of wooden machine five and twenty feet high, formed like a standing ladder, the steps were each fifty feet long: it was indeed a moveable pair of stairs, the lowest end placed at ten feet distance from the wall of the chamber. The book I had a mind to read was put up leaning against the wall: I first mounted to the upper step of the ladder, and turning my face towards the book, began at the top of the page, and so walking to the right and left about eight or ten paces, according to the length of the lines, till I had gotten a little below the level of mine eyes, and then descending gradually till I came to the bottom: after which I mounted again, and began the other page in the same manner, and so turned over the leaf, which I could easily do with both my hands, for it was as thick and stiff as a paste-board, and in the largest folios not above eighteen or twenty feet long.

Their style is clear, masculine, and smooth, but not florid; for they avoid nothing more than multiplying unnecessary words, or using various expressions. I have perused many of their books, especially those in history and morality. Among the rest I was much diverted with a little old treatise, which always lay in Glumdalclitch's

bed-chamber, and belonged to her governess, a grave elderly gentlewoman, who dealt in writings of morality and devotion. The book treats of the weakness of human kind, and is in little esteem, except among the women and the vulgar. However I was curious to see what an author of that country could say upon such a subject. This writer went through all the usual topics of European moralists, shewing how diminutive, contemptible, and helpless an animal was man in his own nature: how unable to defend himself from inclemencies of the air, or the fury of wild beasts: how much he was excelled by one creature in strength, by another in speed, by a third in foresight, by a fourth in industry. He added, that nature was degenerated in these latter declining ages of the world, and could now produce only small abortive births, in comparison of those in ancient times. He said it was very reasonable to think, not only that the species of men were originally much larger, but also that there must have been giants in former ages; which, as it is asserted by history and tradition, so it hath been confirmed by huge bones and skulls casually dug up in several parts of the kingdom, far exceeding the common dwindled race of man in our days. He argued that the very laws of nature absolutely required we should have been made in the beginning of a size more large and robust, not so liable to destruction from every little accident of a tile falling from an house, or a stone cast from the hand of a boy, or being drowned in a little brook. From this way of reasoning, the author drew several moral applications, useful in the conduct of life, but needless here to repeat. For my own part I could not avoid reflecting how universally this talent was spread, of drawing lectures in morality, or indeed rather matter of discontent and repining, from the quarrels we raise with nature. And, I believe, upon a strict enquiry those quarrels might be shewn as ill-grounded among us, as they are among that people*.

* The author's zeal to justify Providence has before been remarked; and these quarrels with Nature, or, in other words, with God, could not have been more forcibly reprov'd, than by shewing, that the complaints upon which they are founded, would be equally specious among beings of such astonishing superiority of stature and strength. *Hawkes.*

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As to their military affairs, they boast that the King's army consists of an hundred and seventy-six thousand foot, and thirty-two thousand horse: if that may be called an army, which is made up of tradesmen in the several cities, and farmers in the country, whose commanders are only the nobility and gentry without pay or reward. They are indeed perfect enough in their exercises, and under very good discipline, wherein I saw no great merit; for how should it be otherwise, where every farmer is under the command of his own landlord, and every citizen under that of the principal men in his own city, chosen after the manner of Venice by *ballot*?

I have often seen the militia of Lorbrulgrud drawn out to exercise in a great field, near the city, of twenty miles square. They were in all not above twenty-five thousand foot, and six thousand horse: but it was impossible for me to compute their number, considering the space of ground they took up. A cavalier, mounted on a large steed, might be about ninety feet high. I have seen this whole body of horse, upon a word of command, draw their swords at once, and brandish them in the air. Imagination can figure nothing so grand, so surprising and so astonishing! it looked as if ten thousand flashes of lightning were darting at the same time from every quarter of the sky.

I was curious to know how this Prince, to whose dominions there is no access from any other country, came to think of armies, or to teach his people the practice of military discipline. But I was soon informed both by conversation and reading their histories: for in the course of many ages they have been troubled with the same disease to which the whole race of mankind is subject; the nobility often contending for power, the people for liberty, and the King for absolute dominion. All which, however, happily tempered by the laws of that kingdom, have been sometimes violated by each of the three parties and have more than once occasioned civil wars, the last whereof was happily put an end to by this Prince's grandfather in a general composition; and the militia, then settled with common consent, hath been ever since kept in the strictest duty.

C H A P. VIII.

The King and Queen make a Progress to the frontiers. The author attends them. The manner in which he leaves the country very particularly related. He returns to England.

I Had always a strong impulse, that I should some time recover my liberty, though it was impossible to conjecture by what means, or to form any project with the least hope of succeeding. The ship in which I sailed was the first ever known to be driven within sight of that coast, and the King had given strict orders, that if at any time another appeared, it should be taken ashore, and with all its crew and passengers brought in a tumbril to Lorbrulgrud. He was strongly bent to get me a woman of my own size, by whom I might propagate the breed: but I think I should rather have died, than undergone the disgrace of leaving a posterity to be kept in cages like tame canary birds, and perhaps in time sold about the kingdom to persons of quality for curiosities. I was indeed treated with much kindness: I was the favourite of a great King and Queen, and the delight of the whole court; but it was upon such a foot, as ill became the dignity of human kind. I could never forget those domestic pledges I had left behind me. I wanted to be among people with whom I could converse upon even terms, and walk about the streets and fields, without being afraid of being trod to death like a frog, or a young puppy. But my deliverance came sooner than I expected, and in a manner not very common: the whole story and circumstances of which I shall faithfully relate.

I had now been two years in this country; and about the beginning of the third Glumdalclitch and I attended the King and Queen in a progress to the *south* coast of the Kingdom. I was carried as usual in my travelling-box, which, as I have already described, was a very convenient closet of twelve feet wide. And I had ordered a hammock to be fixed by silken ropes from the four corners at the top, to break the jolts, when a servant carried
me

me before him on horseback, as I sometimes desired, and would often sleep in my hammock while we were upon the road. On the roof of my closet, not directly over the middle of the hammock, I ordered the joiner to cut out a hole of a foot square, to give me air in hot weather, as I slept; which hole I shut at pleasure with a board, that drew backwards and forwards through a groove.

When we came to our journey's end, the King thought proper to pass a few days at a palace he hath near Flanflanic, a city within eighteen English miles of the sea-side. Glumdalclitch and I were much fatigued: I had gotten a small cold, but the poor girl was so ill as to be confined to her chamber. I longed to see the ocean, which must be the only scene of my escape, if ever it should happen. I pretended to be worse than I really was, and desired leave to take the fresh air of the sea with a page, whom I was very fond of, and who had sometimes been trusted with me. I shall never forget with what unwillingness Glumdalclitch consented, nor the strict charge she gave the page to be careful of me, bursting at the same time into a flood of tears, as if she had some foreboding of what was to happen. The boy took me out in my box about half an hour's walk from the palace towards the rocks on the sea-shore. I ordered him to set me down, and lifting up one of my sashes, cast many a wistful melancholy look towards the sea. I found myself not very well, and told the page that I had a mind to take a nap in my hammock, which I hoped would do me good. I got in, and the boy shut the window close down to keep out the cold. I soon fell asleep, and all I can conjecture is, that while I slept, the page, thinking no danger could happen, went among the rocks to look for birds eggs, having before observed him from my window searching about, and picking up one or two in the clefts. Be that as it will, I found myself suddenly awaked with a violent pull upon the ring, which was fastened at the top of my box for the conveniency of carriage. I felt my box raised very high in the air, and then borne forward with prodigious speed. The first jolt had like to have shaken me out of my hammock, but afterwards the motion was easy enough. I called out several times, as loud as I could raise my voice, but all to no purpose. I looked towards my

my windows, and could see nothing but the clouds and sky. I heard a noise just over my head like the clapping of wings, and then began to perceive the woeful condition I was in, that some eagle had got the ring of my box in his beak, with an intent to let it fall on a rock like a tortoise in a shell, and then pick out my body, and devour it: for the sagacity and smell of this bird enabled him to discover his quarry at a great distance, though better concealed than I could be within a two-inch board.

In a little time I observed the noise and flutter of wings to encrease very fast, and my box was tossed up and down like a sign in a windy day. I heard several bangs or buffets, as I thought, given to the eagle (for such I am certain it must have been, that held the ring of my box in his beak) and then all on a sudden felt myself falling perpendicularly down for above a minute, but with such incredible swiftness that I almost lost my breath. My fall was stopped by a terrible squash, that sounded louder to my ears than the cataract of Niagara*; after which I was quite in the dark for another minute, and then my box began to rise so high, that I could see light from the tops of the windows. I now perceived that I was fallen into the sea. My box, by the weight of my body, the goods that were in, and the broad plates of iron fixed for strength at the four corners of the top and bottom, floated about five feet deep in water. I did then, and do now suppose, that the eagle which flew away with my box, was pursued by two or three others, and forced to let me drop while he defended himself against the rest, who hoped to share in the prey. The plates of iron fastened at the bottom of the box (for those were the strongest) preserved the balance while it fell, and hindered it from being broken on the surface of the water. Every joint of it was well grooved; and the door did not move on hinges, but up and down like a sash, which kept my closet so tight, that

* Niagara is a settlement of the French in North America, and the cataract is produced by the fall of a conflux of water (formed of the four vast lakes of Canada) from a rocky precipice, the perpendicular height of which is one hundred and thirty-seven feet; and it is said to have been heard fifteen leagues.
Hawkes.

very little water came in. I got with much difficulty out of my hammock, having first ventured to draw back the slip-board on the roof already mentioned, contrived on purpose to let in air, for want of which I found myself almost stifled.

How often did I then wish myself with my dear Glumdalclitch, from whom one single hour had so far divided me! And I may say with truth, that in the midst of my own misfortunes, I could not forbear lamenting my poor nurse, the grief she would suffer for my loss, the displeasure of the Queen, and the ruin of her fortune. Perhaps many travellers have not been under greater difficulties and distress than I was at this juncture, expecting every moment to see my box dashed to pieces, or at least overset by the first violent blast or rising wave. A breach in one single pane of glass would have been immediate death: nor could any thing have preserved the windows but the strong lattice-wires placed on the out-side against accidents in travelling. I saw the water ooze in at several crannies, although the leaks were not considerable, and I endeavoured to stop them as well as I could. I was not able to lift up the roof of my closet, which otherwise I certainly should have done, and sat on the top of it, where I might at least preserve myself some hours longer than by being shut up (as I may call it) in the hold. Or if I escaped these dangers for a day or two, what could I expect but a miserable death of cold and hunger? I was four hours under these circumstances, expecting, and indeed wishing every moment to be my last.

I have already told the reader, that there were two strong staples fixed upon that side of my box which had no window, and into which the servant, who used to carry me on horseback, would put a leathern belt, and buckle it about his waist. Being in this disconsolate state, I heard, or at least thought I heard, some kind of grating noise on that side of my box where the staples were fixed, and soon after I began to fancy, that the box was pulled or towed along in the sea; for I now and then felt a sort of tugging, which made the waves rise near the tops of my windows, leaving me almost in the dark. This gave me some faint hopes of relief; although I was not able to imagine how it could be brought about. I ventured to
unscrew

unscrew one of my chairs, which were always fastened to the floor; and having made a hard shift to screw it down again directly under the slipping-board that I had lately opened. I mounted on the chair, and putting my mouth as near as I could to the hole, I called for help in a loud voice, and in all the languages I understood. I then fastened my handkerchief to a stick I usually carried, and thrusting it up the hole, waved it several times in the air, that if any boat or ship were near, the seamen might conjecture some unhappy mortal to be shut up in the box.

I found no effect from all I could do, but plainly perceived my closet to be moved along; and in the space of an hour, or better, that side of the box where the staples were, and had no window, struck against something that was hard. I apprehended it to be a rock, and found myself tossed more than ever. I plainly heard a noise upon the cover of my closet like that of a cable, and the grating of it as it passed through the ring. I then found myself hoisted up by degrees, at least three feet higher than I was before. Whereupon I again thrust up my stick and handkerchief, calling for help till I was almost hoarse. In return to which, I heard a great shout repeated three times, giving me such transports of joy as are not to be conceived but by those who feel them. I now heard a trampling over my head, and somebody calling through the hole with a loud voice in the English tongue, if there be any body below, let them speak. I answered, I was an Englishman, drawn by ill fortune into the greatest calamity that ever any creature underwent, and begged by all that was moving, to be delivered out of the dungeon I was in. The voice replied, I was safe, for my box was fastened to their ship; and the carpenter should immediately come and saw a hole in the cover, large enough to pull me out. I answered, that was needless, and would take up too much time, for there was no more to be done, but let one of the crew put his finger into the ring, and take the box out of the sea into the ship, and so into the captain's cabin*. Some of them upon hearing me talk so wildly

* There are several little incidents which shew the author to have had a deep knowledge of human nature; and I think this is one. Although the principal advantages enumerated by Gulliver

wildly thought I was mad ; others laughed ; for indeed it never came into my head that I was now got among people of my own stature and strength. The carpenter came, and in a few minutes sawed a passage about four feet square, then let down a small ladder, upon which I mounted, and from thence was taken into the ship in a very weak condition.

The sailors were all in amazement, and asked me a thousand questions, which I had no inclination to answer. I was equally confounded at the sight of so many pigmies, for such I took them to be, after having so long accustomed mine eyes to the monstrous objects I had left. But the captain, Mr. Thomas Wilcocks, an honest worthy Shropshire man, observing I was ready to faint, took me into his cabin, gave me a cordial to comfort me, and made me *turn in* upon his own bed, advising me to take a little rest, of which I had great need. Before I went to sleep, I gave him to understand that I had some valuable furniture in my box, too good to be lost ; a fine hammock, an handsome field-bed, two chairs, a table, and a cabinet. That my closet was hung on all sides, or rather quilted, with silk and cotton : that if he would let one of the crew bring my closet into his cabin, I would open it there before him and shew him my goods. The captain hearing me utter these absurdities concluded I was raving : however (I suppose to pacify me) he promised to give order as I desired, and going upon deck sent some of his men down into my closet, from whence (as I afterwards found) they drew up all my goods, and stripped off the quilting : but the chairs, cabinet, and bedstead, being screwed to the floor, were much damaged by the ignorance of the seamen, who tore them up by force. Then they knocked off some of the boards for the use of the ship, and when they had got all they had a mind for, let the hull drop into the sea, which by reason of many breaches made in the bottom and sides sunk to rights. And in-

Gulliver in the beginning of this chapter, of mingling again among his countrymen, depended on their being of the same size with himself ; yet this is forgotten, in his ardour to be delivered : and he is afterwards betrayed into the same absurdity, by his zeal to preserve his furniture. *Hawkes.*

deed I was glad not to have been a spectator of the havoc they made; because I am confident it would have sensibly touched me by bringing former passages into my mind, which I had rather forget.

I slept some hours, but perpetually disturbed with dreams of the place I had left, and the dangers I had escaped. However, upon waking I found myself much recovered. It was now about eight o'clock at night, and the captain ordered supper immediately, thinking I had already fasted too long. He entertained me with great kindness, observing me not to look wildly, or talk inconsistently; and, when we were left alone, desired I would give him a relation of my travels, and by what accident I came to be set adrift in that monstrous wooden chest. He said, that about twelve o'clock at noon, as he was looking through his glass, he spied it at a distance, and thought it was a sail, which he had a mind to make, being not much out of his course, in hopes of buying some biscuit, his own beginning to fall short. That upon coming nearer, and finding his error, he sent out his long-boat to discover what I was; that his men came back in a fright, swearing they had seen a swimming-house. That he laughed at their folly, and went himself in the boat, ordering his men to take a strong cable along with them. That the weather being calm he rowed round me several times, observed my windows, and the wire-lattices that defended them. That he discovered two staples upon one side, which was all of boards without any passage for light. He then commanded his men to row up to that side, and fastening a cable to one of the staples, ordered them to tow my chest (as they called it) towards the ship. When it was there, he gave directions to fasten another cable to the ring fixed in the cover, and to raise up my chest with pulleys, which all the sailors were not able to do above two or three feet. He said, they saw my stick and handkerchief thrust out of the hole, and concluded that some unhappy man must be shut up in the cavity. I asked, whether he or the crew had seen any prodigious birds in the air about the time he first discovered me? to which he answered, that, discoursing this matter with the sailors while I was asleep, one of them said, he had *observed* three eagles flying towards the
north,

north, but remarked nothing of their being larger than the usual size, which I suppose must be imputed to the great height they were at; and he could not guess the reason of my question. I then asked the captain, how far he reckoned we might be from land? he said, by the best computation he could make, we were at least an hundred leagues. I assured him that he must be mistaken by almost half, for I had not left the country from whence I came above two hours before I dropt into the sea. Whereupon he began again to think that my brain was disturbed, of which he gave me a hint; and advised me to go to bed in a cabbin he had provided. I assured him I was well refreshed with his good entertainment and company, and as much in my senses as ever I was in my life. He then grew serious, and desired to ask me freely, whether I were not troubled in mind by the consciousness of some enormous crime, for which I was punished at the command of some prince, by exposing me in that chest, as great criminals in other countries have been forced to sea in a leaky vessel without provisions: for although he should be sorry to have taken so ill a man into his ship, yet he would engage his word to set me safe ashore in the first port where we arrived. He added, that his suspicions were much increased by some very absurd speeches I had delivered at first to the sailors, and afterwards to himself, in relation to my closet or chest, as well as by my odd looks and behaviour while I was at supper.

I begged his patience to hear me tell my story, which I faithfully did from the last time I left England to the moment he first discovered me. And as truth always forceth its way into rational minds, so this honest worthy gentleman, who had some tincture of learning, and very good sense, was immediately convinced of my candour and veracity. But, farther to confirm all I had said, I intreated him to give order that my cabinet should be brought, of which I had the key in my pocket, (for he had already informed me how the seamen disposed of my closet.) I opened it in his presence, and shewed him the small collection of rarities I made in the country from whence I had been so strangely delivered. There was the comb I had contrived out of the stumps of the

King's beard, and another of the same materials, but fixed into a paring of her Majesty's thumb-nail which served for the back. There was a collection of needles and pins from a foot to half a yard long; four wasp-stings, like joiners tacks; some combings of the Queen's hair; a gold-ring which one day she made me a present of in a most obliging manner, taking it from her little finger, and throwing it over my head like a collar. I desired the captain would please to accept this ring in return of his civilities; which he absolutely refused. I shewed him a corn that I had cut off with my own hand from a maid of honour's toe; it was about the bigness of a Kentish pippin, and grown so hard, that, when I returned to England, I got it hollowed into a cup, and set in silver. Lastly, I desired him to see the breeches I had then on, which were made of a mouse's skin.

I could force nothing on him but a footman's tooth, which I observed him to examine with great curiosity, and found he had a fancy for it. He received it with abundance of thanks, more than such a trifle could deserve. It was drawn by an unskilful surgeon in a mistake from one of Glumdalclitch's men, who was afflicted with the tooth-ach, but it was as sound as any in his head. I got it cleaned and put it into my cabinet. It was about a foot long, and four inches in diameter.

The captain was very well satisfied with this plain relation I had given him, and said, he hoped, when we returned to England, I would oblige the world by putting it on paper, and making it public. My answer was, that I thought we were already overstocked with books of travels: that nothing could now pass which was not extraordinary; wherein I doubted some authors less consulted truth, than their own vanity, or interest, or the diversion of ignorant readers: that my story could contain little besides common events, without those ornamental descriptions of strange plants, trees, birds, and other animals; or of the barbarous customs and idolatry of savage people, with which most writers abound. However, thanked him for his good opinion, and promised to take the matter into my thoughts.

He said, he wondered at one thing very much, which was, to hear me speak so loud, asking me whether the King

King or Queen of that country were thick of hearing. I told him, it was what I had been used to for above two years past; and that I admired as much at the voices of him and his men, who seemed to me only to whisper, and yet I could hear them well enough. But when I spoke in that country, it was like a man talking in the street to another looking out from the top of a steeple, unless when I was placed on a table, or held in any person's hand. I told him, I had likewise observed another thing, that when I first got into the ship, and the sailors stood all about me, I thought they were the most little contemptible creatures I had ever beheld. For indeed, while I was in that prince's country, I could never endure to look in a glass, after mine eyes had been accustomed to such prodigious objects, because the comparison gave me so despicable a conceit of myself. The captain said, that while we were at supper he observed me to look at every thing with a sort of wonder, and that I often seemed hardly able to contain my laughter, which he knew not well how to take, but imputed it to some disorder in my brain. I answered, it was very true; and I wondered how I could forbear, when I saw his dishes of the size of a silver three-pence, a leg of pork hardly a mouthful, a cup not so big as a nut-shell; and so I went on, describing the rest of his household-stuff and provisions after the same manner. For although the Queen had ordered a little equipage of all things necessary for me, while I was in her service, yet my ideas were wholly taken up with what I saw on every side of me, and I winked at my own littleness, as people do at their own faults. The captain understood my raillery very well, and merrily replied with the old English proverb, that he doubted mine eyes were bigger than my belly, for he did not observe my stomach so good although I had fasted all day; and, continuing in his mirth, protested he would have gladly given an hundred pounds to have seen my closet in the eagles bill, and afterwards in its fall from so great a height into the sea; which would certainly have been a most astonishing object, worthy to have the description of it transmitted to future ages: and the comparison of Phaeton was so obvious, that he could not forbear applying it, although I did not much admire the conceit.

The captain, having been at Tonquin, was in his return to England driven north-eastward to the latitude of 44 degrees, and of longitude 143. But meeting a trade-wind two days after I came on board him, we sailed southward a long time, and coasting New-Holland, kept our course west-south-west, and then south-south-west, till we doubled the Cape of Good-Hope. Our voyage was very prosperous, but I shall not trouble the reader with a journal of it. The captain called in at one or two ports, and sent in his long-boat for provisions and fresh water, but I never went out of the ship till we came into the Downs, which was on the third day of June, 1706, about nine months after my escape. I offered to leave my goods in security for payment of my freight; but the captain protested he would not receive one farthing. We took a kind leave of each other, and I made him promise he would come to see me at my house in Redriff. I hired a horse and guide for five shillings, which I borrowed of the captain.

As I was on the road, observing the littleness of the houses, the trees, the cattle, and the people, I began to think myself in Lilliput. I was afraid of trampling on every traveller I met, and often called aloud to have them stand out of the way, so that I had like to have gotten one or two broken heads for my impertinence.

When I came to my own house, for which I was forced to enquire, one of the servants opening the door, I bent down to go in (like a goose under a gate) for fear of striking my head. My wife ran out to embrace me, but I stooped lower than her knees, thinking she could otherwise never be able to reach my mouth. My daughter kneeled to ask my blessing, but I could not see her till she arose, having been so long used to stand with my head and eyes erect to above sixty feet; and then I went to take her up with one hand by the waist. I looked down upon the servants, and one or two friends who were in the house, as if they had been pigmies, and I a giant. I told my wife she had been too thrifty, for I found she had starved herself and her daughter to nothing. In short I behaved myself so unaccountably, that they were all of the captain's opinion when he first saw me, and concluded

Chap. VIII. A VOYAGE TO BROBDINGNAG. *MY* eluded I had lost my wits. This I mention as an instance of the great power of habit and prejudice.

In a little time, I and my family and friends came to a right understanding : but my wife protested I should never go to sea any more ; although my evil destiny so ordered, that she had not power to hinder me, as the reader may know hereafter. In the mean time, I here conclude the second part of my unfortunate voyages *.

* From the whole of these two voyages to Lilliput and Brobdingnag, arises one general remark, which, however obvious, has been overlooked by those who consider them as little more than the sport of a wanton imagination. When human actions are ascribed to pigmies and giants, there are few that do not excite either contempt, disgust, or horror. To ascribe them therefore to such beings, was perhaps the most probable method of engaging the mind to examine them with attention, and judge of them with impartiality, by suspending the fascination of habit, and exhibiting familiar objects in a new light. The use of the fable then is not less apparent, than important and extensive ; and that this use was intended by the author, can be doubted only by those who are disposed to affirm, that order and regularity are the effects of chance. *Hawkes.*

Upon reading over the two first parts of these travels, I think that I can discover a very great resemblance between certain passages in *Gulliver's voyage to Lilliput*, and the voyage of *Cyrano de Bergerac* to the sun and moon.—*Cyrano de Bergerac* is a French author of a singular character, who had a very peculiar turn of wit and humour, in many respects resembling that of *Swift*. He wanted the advantages of learning, and a regular education. His imagination was less guarded and correct, but more agreeably extravagant. He has introduced into his philosophical romance, the system of *Descartes*, (which was then much admired) intermixed with several fine strokes of just satire on the wild and immechanical enquiries of the philosophers and astronomers of that age ; and in many parts he has evidently directed the plan which the *Dean of St. Patrick's* has pursued. *Orrery.*

TRAVELS into several REMOTE NATIONS of the world.

PART III.

A VOYAGE TO LAPUTA, BALNIBARBI, LUGG-NAGG, GLUBBDUBDRIB, and JAPAN*.

CHAP. I.

The author sets out on his third Voyage, is taken by pyrates. The malice of a Dutchman. His arrival at an Island. He is received into Laputa.

IHAD not been at home above ten days, when captain William Robinson a Cornish man, commander of the Hope-well, a stout ship of three hundred tuns, came to my house. I had formerly been surgeon of another ship, where he was master and a fourth part owner, in

* The third part is in general written against chymists, mathematicians, mechanicks, and projectors of all kinds.

Swift was little acquainted with mathematical knowledge, and was prejudiced against it, by observing the strange effects it produced in those who applied themselves entirely to that science. No part of human literature has given greater strength to the mind, or has produced greater benefits to mankind, than the several branches of learning that may pass under the general denomination of mathematics. But the abuses of this study, the idle, thin, immechanical refinements of it, are just subjects of satire. The real use of knowledge is to invigorate, not to enervate the faculties of reason. Learning degenerates into a species of madness, when it is not superior to what it possesseth.

The

in a voyage to the Levant; he had always treated me more-like a brother, than an inferior officer, and hearing of my arrival, made me a visit, as I apprehended, only out of friendship; for nothing passed more than what is usual

The scientific powers are most evident, when they are capable of exerting themselves in the social duties of life; when they wear no chains, but can freely disengage themselves, and, like a sound constitution of body, rise chearful, and more vigorous by the food they have acquired, being neither oppressed, nor rendered stupid by the labours of digestion.

Lord Bacon has justly exposed the vain pursuits of ostentatious pedants in the different parts of learning; and their unaccountable temerity in deducing general rules from arbitrary maxims, or few experiments: he has likewise fixed upon a sure and certain basis, the procedure and limits of the human understanding. Swift has pursued the same plan in a different manner, and has placed the imaginary schemes of all pretenders, in a more ludicrous, and therefore in a more proper light.

Ridiculum acri

Fortius ac melius, magnas plerumque secat res.

He cannot be supposed to condemn useful experiments, or the right application of them: but he ridicules the vain attempts and irregular productions of those rash men, who, like Ixion, embracing a cloud instead of a goddess, plagued the world with Centaurs; whilst Jupiter from the embraces of a Juno, and an Alcmena, blessed the earth with an Hebe, and an Hercules.

Orrery.

The design of Gulliver in his voyage to Laputa, is to ridicule the vain pretensions of chymists, mathematicians, projectors, and the rest of that speculative tribe, who spend their time in aerial studies, by no means calculated to improve the faculties of the mind, or to enlarge the number of ideas; mathematicians (I mean those only who are entirely devoted to their circles, their telescopes, and their laboratory) being a race of men so very abstracted from all sublunary affairs, that scarce one in twenty of them can give you a rational answer. However, indeed, a certain degree of mathematical knowledge is, without dispute, extremely necessary in the pursuit of the Æsculapian science, architecture, and other species of mechanics. But when the soul rambles after a thousand chimeras, and the brain

usual after long absences. But repeating his visits often, expressing his joy to find me in good health, asking whether I were now settled for life; adding, that he intended a voyage to the East-Indies in two months; at last he plainly invited me, though with some apologies, to be surgeon of the ship; that I should have another surgeon under me, besides our two mates; that my salary should be double to the usual pay; and that having experienced my knowledge in sea affairs to be at least equal to his, he would enter into any engagement to follow my advice, as much as if I had shared in the command.

He said so many other obliging things, and I knew him to be so honest a man, that I could not reject his proposal; the thirst I had of seeing the world, notwithstanding my past misfortunes, continuing as violent as ever. The only difficulty that remained, was to persuade my wife, whose consent however I at last obtained by the prospect of advantage she proposed to her children.

We set out the 5th day of August 1706, and arrived at Fort St. George the 11th of April 1707. We stayed there three weeks to refresh our crew, many of whom were sick. From thence we went to Tonquin, where the captain resolved to continue some time, because many of the goods he intended to buy were not ready, nor could he expect to be dispatched in several months. Therefore, in hopes to defray some of the charges he must be at, he bought a sloop, loaded it with several

brain is wholly absorbed in the consideration of the several powers of attraction, repulsion, and the circulation of the heavenly bodies; or when a projector with sooty hands and face, is employed in his laboratory in producing a considerable degree of cold, in order to refrigerate the air, and qualify the raging of the dog star, which exactly answers to the project of extracting sun-beams out of cucumbers; such follies and extravagancies are certainly the objects of derision. And accordingly Dr. Swift has laughed egregiously in the voyage to Laputa, and exerted a vein of humour, not against the whole tribe of chymists, projectors, and mathematicians in general; but against those, and those only, who despise the useful branches of science, and waste their lives in the pursuit of aerial vanities and extravagancies. *Swift.*

forts.

sorts of goods, wherewith the Tonquinese usually trade to the neighbouring islands, and putting fourteen men on board, whereof three were of the country, he appointed me master of the sloop, and gave me power to traffic, while he transacted his affairs at Tonquin.

We had not sailed above three days, when, a great storm arising, we were driven five days to the north-north-east, and then to the east; after which we had fair weather, but still with a pretty strong gale from the west. Upon the tenth day we were chased by two pyrates, who soon overtook us; for my sloop was so deep laden, that she sailed very slow, neither were we in a condition to defend ourselves.

We were boarded about the same time by both the pyrates, who entered furiously at the head of their men; but finding us all prostrate upon our faces (for so I gave order) they pinioned us with strong ropes, and, setting a guard upon us, went to search the sloop.

I observed among them a Dutchman, who seemed to be of some authority, though he was not commander of either ship. He knew us by our countenances to be Englishmen, and jabbering to us in his own language, swore we should be tied back to back, and thrown into the sea. I spoke Dutch tolerably well; I told him who we were, and begged him, in consideration of our being christians and protestants of neighbouring countries in strict alliance, that he would move the captains to take some pity on us. This inflamed his rage, he repeated his threatenings, and turning to his companions, spoke with great vehemence in the Japanese language, as I suppose, often using the word *christianos*.

The largest of the two pyrate ships was commanded by a Japanese captain, who spoke a little Dutch, but very imperfectly. He came up to me, and after several questions, which I answered in great humility, he said we should not die. I made the captain a very low bow, and then turning to the Dutchman said, I was sorry to find more mercy in an heathen, than in a brother christian. But I had soon reason to repent those foolish words: for that malicious reprobate, having often endeavoured in vain to persuade both the captains that I might be thrown into the sea (which they would not yield to after the promise

mise made me that I should not die) however prevailed so far as to have a punishment inflicted on me, worse, in all human appearance, than death itself. My men were sent by an equal division into both the pyrate ships, and my sloop new manned. As to myself, it was determined that I should be set a-drift in a small canoe, with paddles and a sail, and four days provisions, which last the Japanese captain was so kind to double out of his own stores, and would permit no man to search me. I got down into the canoe, while the Dutchman standing upon the deck loaded me with all the curses and injurious terms his language could afford.

About an hour before we saw the pyrates I had taken an observation, and found we were in the latitude of 46 N. and of longitude 183. When I was at some distance from the pyrates, I discovered by my pocket-glass several islands to the south-east. I set up my sail, the wind being fair, with a design to reach the nearest of those islands, which I made shift to do in about three hours. It was all rocky, however I got many birds eggs, and striking fire I kindled some heath and dry sea-weed, by which I roasted my eggs. I eat no other supper, being resolved to spare my provisions as much as I could. I passed the night under the shelter of a rock, strewing some heath under me, and slept pretty well.

The next day I sailed to another island, and thence to a third and fourth, sometimes using my sail, and sometimes my paddles. But, not to trouble the reader with a particular account of my distresses, let it suffice, that on the fifth day I arrived at the last island in my sight, which lay south-south-east to the former.

This island was at a greater distance than I expected, and I did not reach it in less than five hours. I encompassed it almost round, before I could find a convenient place to land in, which was a small creek about three times the wideness of my canoe. I found the island to be all rocky, only a little intermingled with tufts of grass, and sweet smelling herbs. I took out my small provisions, and after having refreshed myself, I secured the remainder in a cave, whereof there were great numbers. I gathered plenty of eggs upon the rocks, and got a quantity of dry sea-weed, and parched grass, which I designed

ed to kindle the next day, and roast my eggs as well as I could (for I had about me my flint, steel, match, and burning-glass.) I lay all night in the cave where I had lodged my provisions. My bed was the same dry grass and sea-weed which I intended for fuel. I slept very little, for the disquiets of my mind prevailed over my weariness, and kept me awake. I considered how impossible it was to preserve my life in so desolate a place, and how miserable my end must be. Yet found myself so listless and desponding, that I had not the heart to rise; and before I could get spirits enough to creep out of my cave, the day was far advanced. I walked a while among the rocks, the sky was perfectly clear, and the sun so hot, that I was forced to turn my face from it; when all on a sudden it became obscure, as I thought, in a manner very different from what happens by the interposition of a cloud. I turned back, and perceived a vast opaque body between me and the sun, moving forwards towards the island: it seemed to be about two miles high, and hid the sun six or seven minutes, but I did not observe the air to be much colder, or the sky more darkened, than if I had stood under the shade of a mountain. As it approached nearer over the place where I was, it appeared to be a firm substance, the bottom flat, smooth, and shining very bright from the reflexion of the sea below. I stood upon a height about two hundred yards from the shore, and saw this vast body descending almost to a parallel with me, at less than an English mile distance. I took out my pocket-perspective, and could plainly discover numbers of people moving up and down the sides of it, which appeared to be sloping; but, what those people were doing, I was not able to distinguish.

The natural love of life gave me some inward motions of joy, and I was ready to entertain a hope, that this adventure might some way or other help to deliver me from the desolate place and condition I was in. But at the same time the reader can hardly conceive my astonishment, to behold an island in the air, inhabited by men, who were able (as it should seem) to raise or sink, or put it into a progressive motion, as they pleased. But not being at that time in a disposition to philosophise upon this phenomenon, I rather chose to observe what course

the island would take, because it seemed for a while to stand still. Yet soon after it advanced nearer, and I could see the sides of it encompassed with several gradations of galleries, and stairs at certain intervals to descend from one to the other. In the lowest gallery I beheld some people fishing with long angling rods, and others looking on. I waved my cap (for my hat was long since worn out) and my handkerchief towards the island; and upon its nearer approach I called and shouted with the utmost strength of my voice; and then, looking circumspectly, I beheld a crowd gathered to that side which was most in my view. I found by their pointing towards me and to each other, that they plainly discovered me, although they made no return to my shouting. But I could see four or five men running in great haste up the stairs to the top of the island, who then disappeared. I happened rightly to conjecture, that these were sent for orders to some person in authority upon this occasion.

The number of people encreased, and in less than half an hour, the island was moved and raised in such a manner, that the lowest gallery appeared in a parallel of less than an hundred yards distance from the height where I stood. I then put myself into the most supplicating postures, and spoke in the humblest accent, but received no answer. Those, who stood nearest over-against me, seemed to be persons of distinction, as I supposed by their habit. They conferred earnestly with each other, looking often upon me. At length one of them called out in a clear, polite, smooth dialect, not unlike in sound to the Italian, and therefore I returned an answer in that language, hoping at least, that the cadence might be more agreeable to his ears. Although neither of us understood the other, yet my meaning was easily known, for the people saw the distress I was in.

They made signs for me to come down from the rock, and go towards the shore, which I accordingly did; and the flying island being raised to a convenient height, the verge directly over me, a chain was let down from the lowest gallery, with a seat fastened to the bottom, to which I fixed myself, and was drawn up by pullies.

C H A P. II.

The humours and dispositions of the Laputians described. An account of their learning. Of the King, and his court. The author's reception there. The inhabitants subject to fear and disquietudes. An account of the women.

AT my alighting I was surrounded with a crowd of people, but those who stood nearest seemed to be of better quality. They beheld me with all the marks and circumstances of wonder, neither indeed was I much in their debt; having never till then seen a race of mortals so singular in their shapes, habits, and countenances. Their heads were all reclined either to the right or the left; one of their eyes turned inward, and the other directly up to the zenith*. Their outward garments were adorned with the figures of suns, moons, and stars, interwoven with those of fiddles, flutes, harps, trumpets, guittars, harpsicords, and many other instruments of music unknown to us in Europe. I observed here and there many in the habit of servants, with a blown bladder fastened like a flayl to the end of a short stick, which they carried in their hands. In each bladder was a small quantity of dried pease, or little pebbles (as I was afterwards informed.) With these bladders they now and then flapped the mouths and ears of those who stood near them, of which practice I could not then conceive the meaning. It seems the minds of these people are so taken up with intense speculations, that they neither can speak, nor attend to the discourses of others, without being roused by some external action upon the organs of speech and hearing; for which reason, those persons who are able to afford it, always keep a *flapper* (the original is *climenole*) in their family, as one of their domestics, nor ever walk abroad or make visits without him. And the business

* By this description the author intended to ridicule those who waste life in speculative science, the powers of whose minds are as absurdly employed as the eyes of the Laputians. *Hawkes-*

of this officer is, when two, three, or more persons are in company, gently to strike with his bladder the mouth of him who is to speak, and the right ear of him or them to whom the speaker addresseth himself. This *flapper* is likewise employed diligently to attend his master in his walks, and upon occasion to give him a soft flap on his eyes, because he is always so wrapped up in cogitation, that he is in manifest danger of falling down every precipice, and bouncing his head against every post; and in the streets, of jostling others, or being jostled himself into the kennel.

It was necessary to give the reader this information, without which he would be at the same loss with me to understand the proceedings of these people, as they conducted me up the stairs to the top of the island, and from thence to the royal palace. While we were ascending, they forgot several times what they were about, and left me to myself, till their memories were again roused by their *flappers*; for they appeared altogether unmoved by the sight of my foreign habit and countenance, and by the shouts of the vulgar, whose thoughts and minds were more disengaged.

At last we entered the palace, and proceeded into the chamber of presence, where I saw the King seated on his throne, attended on each side by persons of prime quality. Before the throne was a large table filled with globes and spheres, and mathematical instruments of all kinds. His Majesty took not the least notice of us, although our entrance was not without sufficient noise by the concurrence of all persons belonging to the court. But he was then deep in a problem, and we attended at least an hour, before he could solve it. There stood by him on each side a young page with flaps in their hands, and when they saw he was at leisure, one of them gently struck his mouth, and the other his right ear; at which he started like one awaked on the sudden, and looking towards me and the company I was in, recollected the occasion of our coming, whereof he had been informed before. He spoke some words, whereupon immediately a young man with a flap came up to my side, and flapt me gently on the right ear, but I made signs, as well as I could, that I had no occasion for such an instrument; which, as I afterwards found,

found, gave his Majesty and the whole court a very mean opinion of my understanding. The King, as far as I could conjecture, asked me several questions, and I addressed myself to him in all the languages I had. When it was found, that I could neither understand, nor be understood, I was conducted by his order to an apartment in his palace, (this prince being distinguished above all his predecessors for his hospitality to strangers) where two servants were appointed to attend me. My dinner was brought, and four persons of quality, whom I remembered to have seen very near the King's person, did me the honour to dine with me. We had two courses, of three dishes each. In the first course there was a shoulder of mutton cut into an æquilateral triangle, a piece of beef into a rhomboides, and a pudding into a cycloid. The second course was two ducks trussed up into the form of fiddles; sausages and puddings resembling flutes and hautboys, and a breast of veal in the shape of a harp. The servants cut our bread into cones, cylinders, parallelograms, and several other mathematical figures.

While we were at dinner, I made bold to ask the names of several things in their language, and those noble persons by the assistance of their *slappers* delighted to give me answers, hoping to raise my admiration of their great abilities, if I could be brought to converse with them. I was soon able to call for bread and drink, or whatever else I wanted.

After dinner my company withdrew, and a person was sent to me by the King's order, attended by a *slapper*. He brought with him pen, ink, and paper, and three or four books, giving me to understand by signs, that he was sent to teach me the language. We sat together four hours, in which time I wrote down a great number of words in columns with the translations over-against them; I likewise made a shift to learn several short sentences. For my tutor would order one of my servants to fetch something, to turn about, to make a bow, to sit, or to stand, or walk, and the like. Then I took down the sentence in writing. He shewed me also in one of his books the figures of the sun, moon, and stars, the zodiac, the tropics, and polar circles, together with the denominations of many figures of planes and solids. He gave me the

names and descriptions of all the musical instruments, and the general terms of art in playing on each of them. After he had left me, I placed all my words with their interpretations in alphabetical order. And thus in a few days, by the help of a very faithful memory, I got some insight into their language.

The word, which I interpret the *flying* or *floating island*, is in the original Laputa, whereof I could never learn the true etymology. Lap in the old obsolete language signifieth *high*, and *untuh* a *governor*, from which they say by corruption was derived Laputa, from Lapuntuh. But I do not approve of this derivation, which seems to be a little strained. I ventured to offer to the learned among them a conjecture of my own, that Laputa was *quasi lap outed*; *lap* signifying properly the dancing of the sun-beams in the sea, and *outed* a wing, which however I shall not obtrude, but submit to the judicious reader.

Those to whom the King had entrusted me, observing how ill I was clad, ordered a taylor to come next morning, and take measure for a suit of cloaths. This operator did his office after a different manner from those of his trade in Europe. He first took my altitude by a quadrant, and then with rule and compasses described the dimensions and out-lines of my whole body, all which he entered upon paper; and in six days brought my cloaths very ill made, and quite out of shape, by happening to mistake a figure in the calculation. But my comfort was, that I observed such accidents very frequent, and little regarded.

During my confinement for want of cloaths, and by an indisposition that held me some days longer, I much enlarged my dictionary; and when I went next to court was able to understand many things the king spoke, and to return him some kind of answers. His Majesty had given orders, that the island should move north-east and by east to the vertical point over Lagado, the metropolis of the whole kingdom below upon the firm earth. It was about ninety leagues distant, and our voyage lasted four days and an half. I was not in the least sensible of the progressive motion made in the air by the island. On the second morning about eleven a-clock the King himself in per-

person attended by his nobility, courtiers and officers, having prepared all their musical instruments, played on them for three hours without intermission, so that I was quite stunned with the noise; neither could I possibly guess the meaning, till my tutor informed me. He said, that the people of their island had their ears adapted to hear the music of the spheres, which always played at certain periods, and the court was now prepared to bear their part, in whatever instrument they most excelled.

In our journey towards Lagado, the capital city, his Majesty ordered that the island should stop over certain towns and villages, from whence he might receive the petitions of his subjects. And to this purpose several packthreads were let down with small weights at the bottom. On these packthreads the people strung their petitions, which mounted up directly, like the scraps of paper fastened by school-boys at the end of the string that holds their kite. Sometimes we received wine and victuals from below, which were drawn up by pulleys.

The knowledge I had in mathematics gave me great assistance in acquiring their phraseology, which depended much upon that science and music; and in the latter I was not unskilled. Their ideas are perpetually conversant in lines and figures. If they would, for example, praise the beauty of a woman, or any other animal, they describe it by rhombs, circles, parallelograms, ellipses, and other geometrical terms, or by words of art drawn from music, needless here to repeat. I observed in the King's kitchen all sorts of mathematical and musical instruments, after the figures of which they cut up the joints that were served to his Majesty's table.

Their houses are very ill built, the walls bevil, without one right angle in any apartment; and this defect ariseth from the contempt they bear to practical geometry, which they despise as vulgar and mechanic, those instructions they give being too refined for the intellectuals of their workmen, which occasions perpetual mistakes. And although they are dextrous enough upon a piece of paper in the management of the rule, the pencil, and the divider, yet in the common actions and behaviour of life I have not seen a more clumsy, awkward, and unhandy people, nor so slow and perplexed in their conceptions upon

upon all other subjects, except those of mathematics and music. They are very bad reasoners, and vehemently given to opposition, unless when they happen to be of the right opinion which is seldom their case. Imagination, fancy, and invention they are wholly strangers to, nor have any words in their language, by which those ideas can be expressed; the whole compass of their thoughts and mind being shut up within the two forementioned sciences.

Most of them, and especially those who deal in the astronomical part, have great faith in judicial astrology, although they are ashamed to own it publicly. But what I chiefly admired, and thought altogether unaccountable, was the strong disposition I observed in them towards news and politics, perpetually enquiring into public affairs, giving their judgments in matters of state, and passionately disputing every inch of a party opinion. I have indeed observed the same disposition among most of the mathematicians I have known in Europe, although I could never discover the least analogy between the two sciences; unless those people suppose, that because the smallest circle hath as many degrees as the largest, therefore the regulation and management of the world require no more abilities, than the handling and turning of a globe: but I rather take this quality to spring from a very common infirmity of human nature, inclining us to be most curious and conceited in matters where we have least concern, and for which we are least adapted either by study or nature.

These people are under continual disquietudes, never enjoying a minute's peace of mind; and their disturbances proceed from causes, which very little affect the rest of mortals. Their apprehensions arise from several changes they dread in the celestial bodies. For instance, that the earth by the continual approaches of the sun towards it must in course of time be absorbed or swallowed up. That the face of the sun will by degrees be encrusted with its own effluvia, and give no more light to the world. That the earth very narrowly escaped a brush from the tail of the last comet, which would have infallibly reduced it to ashes; and that the next, which they have calculated for one and thirty years hence, will probably de-

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stroy us. For, if in its perihelion it should approach within a certain degree of the sun (as by their calculations they have reason to dread) it will receive a degree of heat ten thousand times more intense, than that of red hot glowing iron; and, in its absence from the sun, carry a blazing tail ten hundred thousand and fourteen miles long; through which if the earth should pass at the distance of one hundred thousand miles from the nucleus, or main body of the comet, it must in its passage be set on fire, and reduced to ashes. That the sun, daily spending its rays without any nutriment to supply them, will at last be wholly consumed and annihilated; which must be attended with the destruction of this earth and of all the planets that receive their light from it.*

They are so perpetually alarmed with the apprehensions of these, and the like impending dangers, that they can neither sleep quietly in their beds, nor have any relish for the common pleasures or amusements of life. When they meet an acquaintance in the morning, the first question is about the sun's health, how he looked at his setting and rising, and what hopes they have to avoid the stroke of the approaching comet. This conversation they are apt to run into with the same temper, that boys discover in delighting to hear terrible stories of spirits and hobgoblins, which they greedily listen to, and dare not go to bed for fear.

The women of the island have abundance of vivacity; they contemn their husbands, and are exceedingly fond of strangers, whereof there is always a considerable number from the continent below attending at court, either upon affairs of the several towns and corporations, or their own particular occasions, but are much despised, because they want the same endowments. Among these the ladies chuse their gallants: but the vexation is, that they act with too much ease and security, for the husband is always so rapt in speculation, that the mistress and lover may proceed to the greatest familiarities before his face, if he be but provided with paper and implements, and without his *flapper* at his side.

* All these were suppositions of persons eminent in their time for mathematical knowledge. *Hawkes.*

The wives and daughters lament their confinement to the island, although I think it the most delicious spot of ground in the world ; and although they live here in the greatest plenty and magnificence, and are allowed to do whatever they please, they long to see the world, and take the diversions of the metropolis, which they are not allowed to do without a particular licence from the King ; and this is not easy to be obtained, because the people of quality have found by frequent experience, how hard it is to persuade their women to return from below. I was told, that a great court lady, who had several children, is married to the prime minister, the richest subject in the kingdom, a very graceful person, extremely fond of her, and lives in the finest palace of the island, went down to Lagado on the pretence of health, there hid herself for several months, till the King sent a warrant to search for her, and she was found in an obscure eating-house all in rags, having pawned her cloaths to maintain an old deformed foot-man, who beat her every day, and in whose company she was taken much against her will. And although her husband received her with all possible kindness, and without the least reproach, she soon after contrived to steal down again with all her jewels to the same gallant, and hath not been heard of since.

This may perhaps pass with the reader rather for an European or English story, than for one of a country so remote. But he may please to consider, that the caprices of women-kind are not limited by any climate or nation, and that they are much more uniform than can be easily imagined.

In about a month's time, I had made a tolerable proficiency in their language, and was able to answer most of the King's questions, when I had the honour to attend him. His Majesty discovered not the least curiosity to enquire into the laws, government, history, religion, or manners of the countries where I had been, but confined his questions to the state of mathematics, and received the account I gave him with great contempt and indifference, though often roused by his *flapper* on each side.

CHAP. III.

*A phenomenon solved by modern philosophy and astronomy.
The Laputians great improvements in the latter. The
King's method of suppressing insurrections.*

I Desired leave of this prince to see the curiosities of the island, which he was graciously pleased to grant, and ordered my tutor to attend me. I chiefly wanted to know, to what cause in art or in nature it owed its several motions, whereof I will now give a philosophical account to the reader.

The flying or floating island is exactly circular, its diameter 7837 yards, or about four miles and an half, and consequently contains ten thousand acres. It is three hundred yards thick. The bottom, or under surface, which appears to those who view it from below, is one even regular plate of adamant, shooting up to the height of about two hundred yards. Above it lie the several minerals in their usual order, and over all is a coat of rich mould, ten or twelve feet deep. The declivity of the upper surface, from the circumference to the center, is the natural cause why all the dews and rains, which fall upon the island, are conveyed in small rivulets towards the middle, where they are emptied into four large basons, each of about half a mile in circuit, and two hundred yards distant from the center. From these basons the water is continually exhaled by the sun in the day-time, which effectually prevents their overflowing. Besides, as it is in the power of the monarch to raise the island above the region of clouds and vapours, he can prevent the falling of dews and rains whenever he pleases. For the highest clouds cannot rise above two miles, as naturalists agree, at least they were never known to do so in that country.

At the center of the island there is a chasm about fifty yards in diameter, from whence the astronomers descend into a large dome, which is therefore called *flandona gagnole*, or the *astronomer's cave*, situated at the depth of a hundred yards beneath the upper surface of the adamant,

mant. In this cave are twenty lamps continually burning, which from the reflexion of the adamant, cast a strong light into every part. The place is stored with great variety of sextants, quadrants, telescopes, astrolabes, and other astronomical instruments. But the greatest curiosity, upon which the fate of the island depends, is a loadstone of a prodigious size, in shape resembling a weaver's shuttle. It is in length six yards, and in the thickest part at least three yards over. This magnet is sustained by a very strong axle of adamant passing through its middle, upon which it plays, and is poised so exactly, that the weakest hand can turn it. It is hooped round with an hollow cylinder of adamant, four feet deep, as many thick, and twelve yards in diameter, placed horizontally, and supported by eight adamantine feet, each six yards high. In the middle of the concave side there is a groove twelve inches deep, in which the extremities of the axle are lodged, and turned round as there is occasion.

The stone cannot be moved from its place by any force, because the hoop and its feet are one continued piece with that body of adamant, which constitutes the bottom of the island.

By means of this load-stone the island is made to rise and fall, and move from one place to another. For, with respect to that part of the earth over which the monarch presides, the stone is endued at one of its sides with an attractive power, and at the other with a repulsive. Upon placing the magnet erect, with its attracting end towards the earth, the island descends; but when the repelling extremity points down-wards, the island mounts directly upwards. When the position of the stone is oblique, the motion of the island is so too: for in this magnet the forces always act in lines parallel to its direction.

By this oblique motion the island is conveyed to different parts of the monarch's dominions. To explain the manner of its progress, let AB represent a line drawn cross the dominions of Balnibarbi, let the line cd represent the load-stone, of which let d be the repelling end, and c the attracting end, the island being over C ; let the stone be placed in the position cd , with its repelling end
down.

downwards; then the island will be driven upwards obliquely towards *D*. When it is arrived at *D*, let the stone be turned upon its axle till its attracting end points towards *E*, and then the island will be carried obliquely towards *E*; where, if the stone be again turned upon its axle till it stands in the position *E F*, with its repelling point downward, the island will rise obliquely towards *F*, where, by directing the attracting end towards *G*, the island may be carried to *G*, and from *G* to *H*, by turning the stone, so as to make its repelling extremity point directly downward. And thus, by changing the situation of the stone as often as there is occasion, the island is made to rise and fall by turns in an oblique direction, and by those alternate risings and fallings (the obliquity being not considerable) is conveyed from one part of the dominions to the other.

But it must be observed, that this island cannot move beyond the extent of the dominions below, nor can it rise above the height of four miles. For which the astronomers (who have written large systems concerning the stone) assign the following reason: that the magnetic virtue does not extend beyond the distance of four miles, and that the mineral, which acts upon the stone in the bowels of the earth, and in the sea about six leagues distant from the shore, is not diffused through the whole globe, but terminated with the limits of the King's dominions; and it was easy, from the great advantage of such a superior situation, for a prince to bring under his obedience, whatever country lay within the attraction of that magnet.

When the stone is put parallel to the plane of the horizon, the island standeth still; for in that case the extremities of it, being at equal distance from the earth, act with equal force, the one in drawing downwards, the other in pushing upwards, and consequently no motion can ensue.

This load-stone is under the care of certain astronomers, who from time to time give it such positions as the monarch directs. They spend the greatest part of their lives in observing the celestial bodies, which they do by the assistance of glasses far excelling ours in goodness. For, although their largest telescopes do not exceed three

feet, they magnify much more than those of an hundred with us, and shew the stars with greater clearness. This advantage hath enabled them to extend their discoveries much farther than our astronomers in Europe; for they have made a catalogue of ten thousand fixed stars, whereas the largest of ours do not contain above one third part of that number. They have likewise discovered two lesser stars, or *satellites*, which revolve about Mars, whereof the innermost is distant from the center of the primary planet, exactly three of his diameters, and the outermost, five; the former revolves in the space of ten hours, and the latter in twenty-one and an half; so that the squares of their periodical times are very near in the same proportion with the cubes of their distance from the center of Mars, which evidently shews them to be governed by the same law of gravitation, that influences the other heavenly bodies.

They have observed ninety-three different comets, and settled their periods with great exactness. If this be true, (and they affirm it with great confidence) it is much to be wished, that their observations were made public, whereby the theory of comets, which at present is very lame and defective, might be brought to the same perfection with other parts of astronomy.

The King would be the most absolute prince in the universe, if he could but prevail on a ministry to join with him; but these having their estates below on the continent, and considering that the office of a favourite hath a very uncertain tenure, would never consent to the enslaving their country.

If any town should engage in rebellion or mutiny, fall into violent factions, or refuse to pay the usual tribute, the King hath two methods of reducing them to obedience. The first and the mildest course is by keeping the island hovering over such a town, and the lands about it, whereby he can deprive them of the benefit of the sun and the rain, and consequently afflict the inhabitants with dearth and diseases. And if the crime deserve it, they are at the same time pelted from above with great stones, against which they have no defence but by creeping into cellars or caves, while the roofs of their houses are beaten to pieces. But if they still continue obstinate, or offer

fer to raise insurrections, he proceeds to the last remedy, by letting the island drop directly upon their heads, which makes an universal destruction both of houses and men. However, this is an extremity to which the prince is seldom driven, neither indeed is he willing to put it in execution, nor dare his ministers advise him to an action, which, as it would render them odious to the people, so it would be a great damage to their own estates, which lie all below, for the island is the King's demesne.

But there is still indeed a more weighty reason, why the Kings of this country have been always averse from executing so terrible an action, unless upon the utmost necessity. For if the town, intended to be destroyed, should have in it any tall rocks, as it generally falls out in the larger cities, a situation probably chosen at first with a view to prevent such a catastrophe; or if it abound in high spires, or pillars of stone, a sudden fall might endanger the bottom or under surface of the island, which, although it consist, as I have said, of one intire adamant two hundred yards thick, might happen to crack by too great a shock, or burst by approaching too near the fires from the houses below, as the backs both of iron and stone will often do in our chimnies. Of all this the people are well apprised, and understand how far to carry their obstinacy, where their liberty or property is concerned. And the King, when he is highest provoked, and most determined to press a city to rubbish, orders the island to descend with great gentleness, out of a pretence of tenderness to his people; but indeed for fear of breaking the adamantine bottom; in which case it is the opinion of all their philosophers, that the load-stone could no longer hold it up, and the whole mass would fall to the ground.

By a fundamental law of this realm, neither the King, nor either of his two elder sons, are permitted to leave the island, nor the Queen, till she is past child-bearing.

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CHAP. IV.

The author leaves Laputa, is conveyed to Balnibarbi, arrives at the metropolis. A description of the metropolis, and the country adjoining. The author hospitably received by a great lord. His conversation with that lord.

ALTHOUGH I cannot say that I was ill-treated in this island, yet I must confess I thought myself too much neglected, not without some degree of contempt. For neither prince nor people appeared to be curious in any part of knowledge, except mathematics and music, wherein I was far their inferior, and upon that account very little regarded.

On the other side, after having seen all the curiosities of the island, I was very desirous to leave it, being heartily weary of those people. They were indeed excellent in two sciences, for which I have great esteem, and wherein I am not unversed, but at the same time so abstracted and involved in speculation, that I never met with such disagreeable companions. I conversed only with women, tradesmen, *flappers*, and court pages, during two months of my abode there; by which at last I rendered myself extremely contemptible; yet these were the only people, from whom I could ever receive a reasonable answer.

I had obtained by hard study a good degree of knowledge in their language; I was weary of being confined to an island, where I received so little countenance, and resolved to leave it with the first opportunity.

There was a great lord at court, nearly related to the King, and for that reason alone, used with respect. He was universally reckoned the most ignorant and stupid person among them. He had performed many eminent services for the crown, had great natural and acquired parts, adorned with integrity and honour, but so ill an ear for music, that his detractors reported he had been often known to beat time in the wrong place; neither could his tutors, without extreme difficulty, teach him to de-

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monstrate the most easy proposition in the mathematics. He was pleased to shew me many marks of favour, often did me the honour of a visit, desired to be informed in the affairs of Europe, the laws and customs, the manners and learning of the several countries where I had travelled. He listened to me with great attention, and made very wise observations on all I spoke. He had two *flappers* attending him for state, but never made use of them, except at court, and in visits of ceremony, and would always command them to withdraw, when we were alone together.

I entreated this illustrious person to intercede in my behalf with his Majesty for leave to depart, which he accordingly did, as he was pleased to tell me, with regret: for indeed he had made me several offers very advantageous, which however I refused with expressions of the highest acknowledgment.

On the 16th of February I took leave of his Majesty and the court. The King made me a present to the value of about two hundred pounds English, and my protector, his kinsman, as much more, together with a letter of recommendation to a friend of his in Lagado, the metropolis: the island being then hovering over a mountain about two miles from it, I was let down from the lowest gallery, in the same manner as I had been taken up.

The continent, as far as it is subject to the monarch of the *flying island*, passes under the general name of Balnibarbi; and the metropolis, as I said before, is called Lagado. I felt some little satisfaction in finding myself on firm ground. I walked to the city without any concern, being clad like one of the natives, and sufficiently instructed to converse with them. I soon found out the person's house to whom I was recommended, presented my letter from his friend the grandee in the island, and was received with much kindness. This great lord, whose name was Munodi, ordered me an apartment in his own house, where I continued during my stay, and was entertained in a most hospitable manner.

The next morning after my arrival he took me in his chariot to see the town, which is about half the bigness of London, but the houses very strangely built, and

most of them out of repair. The people in the streets walked fast, looked wild, their eyes fixed, and were generally in rags. We passed through one of the town gates, and went about three miles into the country, where I saw many labourers working with several sorts of tools in the ground, but was not able to conjecture what they were about; neither did I observe any expectation either of corn or grass, although the soil appeared to be excellent. I could not forbear admiring at these odd appearances both in town and country; and I made bold to desire my conductor, that he would be pleased to explain to me what could be meant by so many busy heads, hands, and faces, both in the streets and the fields, because I did not discover any good effects they produced; but, on the contrary, I never knew a soil so unhappily cultivated, houses so ill contrived and so ruinous, or a people whose countenances and habit expressed so much misery and want.

This lord Munodi was a person of the first rank, and had been some years governor of Lagado; but by a cabal of ministers was discharged for insufficiency. However the King treated him with tenderness, as a well-meaning man, but of a low contemptible understanding.

When I gave that free censure of the country and its inhabitants, he made no further answer, than by telling me, that I had not been long enough among them to form a judgment; and that the different nations of the world had different customs; with other common topics to the same purpose. But, when we returned to his palace, he asked me how I liked the building, what absurdities I observed, and what quarrel I had with the dress or looks of his domestics. This he might safely do; because every thing about him was magnificent, regular, and polite. I answered, that his excellency's prudence, quality, and fortune had exempted him from these defects, which folly and beggary had produced in others. He said, if I would go with him to his country house about twenty miles distant, where his estate lay, there would be more leisure for this kind of conversation. I told his excellency, that I was intirely at his disposal; and accordingly we set out next morning.

During our journey he made me observe the several me-

methods used by farmers in managing their lands ; which to me were wholly unaccountable ; for except in some very few places I could not discover one ear of corn, or blade of grass. But in three hours travelling the scene was wholly altered ; we came into a most beautiful country ; farmers houses at small distances neatly built, the fields enclosed, containing vineyards, corn-grounds, and meadows. Neither do I remember to have seen a more delightful prospect. His excellency observed my countenance to clear up ; he told me with a sigh, that there his estate began, and would continue the same, till we should come to his house. That his countrymen ridiculed and despised him for managing his affairs no better, and for setting so ill an example to the kingdom, which however was followed by very few, such as were old, and wilful, and weak like himself.

We came at length to the house, which was indeed a noble structure, built according to the best rules of ancient architecture. The fountains, gardens, walks, avenues, and groves, were all disposed with exact judgment and taste. I gave due praises to every thing I saw, whereof his excellency took not the least notice till after supper ; when, there being no third companion, he told me with a very melancholly air, that he doubted he must throw down his houses in town and country to rebuild them after the present mode, destroy all his plantations, and cast others into such a form as modern usage required, and give the same directions to all his tenants, unless he would submit to incur the censure of pride, singularity, affectation, ignorance, caprice, and perhaps increase his Majesty's displeasure.

That the admiration I appeared to be under, would cease or diminish, when he had informed me of some particulars, which probably I never heard of at court, the people there being too much taken up in their own speculations to have regard to what passed here below.

The sum of his discourse was to this effect : that about forty years ago certain persons went up to Laputa, either upon business or diversion, and after five months continuance came back with a very little smattering in mathematics, but full of volatile spirits acquired in that airy region. That these persons upon their return began

to

to dislike the management of every thing below, and fell into schemes of putting all arts, sciences, languages, and mechanics upon a new foot. To this end they procured a royal patent for erecting an academy of projectors in Lagado; and the humour prevailed so strongly among the people, that there is not a town of any consequence in the kingdom without such an academy. In these colleges the professors contrive new rules and methods of agriculture and building, and new instruments and tools for all trades and manufactures, whereby, as they undertake, one man shall do the work of ten, a palace may be built in a week, of materials so durable, as to last for ever without repairing. All the fruits of the earth shall come to maturity at whatever season we think fit to chuse, and increase an hundred-fold more than they do at present; with innumerable other happy proposals. The only inconvenience is, that none of these projects are yet brought to perfection, and in the mean time the whole country lies miserably waste, the houses in ruins, and the people without food or cloaths. By all which, instead of being discouraged, they are fifty times more violently bent upon prosecuting their schemes, driven equally on by hope and despair; that as for himself, being not of an enterprising spirit, he was content to go on in the old forms, to live in the houses his ancestors had built, and act as they did in every part of life without innovation. That some few other persons of quality and gentry had done the same, but were looked on with an eye of contempt and ill-will, as enemies to art, ignorant, and ill commonwealths-men, preferring their own ease and sloth before the general improvement of their country.

His lordship added, that he would not by any further particulars prevent the pleasure I should certainly take in viewing the grand academy, whither he was resolved I should go. He only desired me to observe a ruined building upon the side of a mountain about three miles distant, of which he gave me this account: that he had a very convenient mill within half a mile of his house, turned by a current from a large river, and sufficient for his own family, as well as a great number of his tenants. That about seven years ago, a club of these projectors came to him with proposals to destroy this mill, and build another

on the side of that mountain, on the long ridge whereof a long canal must be cut for a repository of water to be conveyed up by pipes and engines to supply the mill, because the wind and air upon a height agitated the water, and thereby made it fitter for motion: and because the water descending down a declivity would turn the mill with half the current of a river, whose course is more upon a level. He said, that being then not very well with the court, and pressed by many of his friends, he complied with the proposal; and after employing an hundred men for two years the work miscarried, the projectors went off, laying the blame entirely upon him, railing at him ever since, and putting others upon the same experiment with equal assurance of success, as well as equal disappointment.

In a few days we came back to town, and his excellency considering the bad character he had in the academy would not go with me himself, but recommended me to a friend of his to bear me company thither. My lord was pleased to represent me as a great admirer of projects, and a person of much curiosity, and easy belief: which indeed was not without truth; for I had myself been a sort of projector in my younger days.

C H A P. V.

The author permitted to see the grand academy of Lagado. The academy largely described. The arts wherein the professors employ themselves.*

THIS academy is not an entire single building, but a continuation of several houses on both sides of a street, which growing waste, was purchased and applied to that use.

I was

* However wild the description of the flying island and the manners and various projects of the philosophers of Lagado may appear, yet it is a *real* picture embellished with much *latent* wit and humour. It is a satire upon those astronomers and mathematicians who have so entirely dedicated their time to the planets,

I was received very kindly by the warden, and went for many days to the academy. Every room hath in it one or more projectors; and I believe I could not be in fewer than five hundred rooms.

The first man I saw was of a meagre aspect, with footy hands and face, his hair and beard long, ragged and fringed in several places. His cloaths, shirt, and skin, were all of the same colour. He had been eight years upon a project for extracting sun-beams out of cucumbers, which were to be put into vials hermetically sealed, and let out to warm the air in raw inclement summers. He

nets, that they have been careless of their family and country, and have been chiefly anxious about the œconomy and welfare of the upper worlds. But if we consider Swift's romance in a serious light, we shall find him of opinion, that those determinations in philosophy, which at present seem to the most knowing men to be perfectly well founded and understood, are in reality unsettled, or uncertain, and may perhaps some ages hence be as much decried as the axioms of Aristotle are at this day. Sir Isaac Newton and his notions may hereafter be out of fashion. There is a kind of mode in philosophy, as well as in other things: and such modes often change more from the humour and caprice of men, than either from the unreasonable, or the ill-founded conclusions of the philosophy itself. The reasonings of some philosophers have undoubtedly better foundation than those of others: but I am of opinion, (and Swift seems to be in the same way of thinking) that the most applauded philosophy, hitherto extant, has not fully, clearly, and certainly explained many difficulties in the phenomena of nature. I am induced to believe, that God may have absolutely denied us the perfect knowledge of many points in philosophy, so that we shall never arrive at that perfection, however certain we may suppose ourselves of having attained to it already. Upon the whole, we may say with Tully, *Omnibus fere in rebus, et maxime in physicis, quid non sit citius quam quid sit, dixerim.* Orrery.

This note in general seems to be a testimony of his lordship's approbation, but it is not easy to discover what in particular is meant by the word *real*, since every picture is a real picture, whether it be copied from nature or fancy; and indeed it is equally difficult to conceive how a *picture* of any kind can be embellished with that which is *bidden*. Hawkes.

told

told me, he did not doubt, that in eight years more he should be able to supply the governor's gardens with sunshine at a reasonable rate; but he complained that his stock was low, and intreated me to give him something as an encouragement to ingenuity, especially since this had been a very dear season for cucumbers. I made him a small present, for my lord had furnished me with money on purpose, because he knew their practice of begging from all who go to see them.

I went into another chamber, but was ready to hasten back, being almost overcome with a horrible stink. My conductor pressed me forward, conjuring me in a whisper to give no offence, which would be highly resented, and therefore I durst not so much as stop my nose. The projector of this cell was the most ancient student of the academy; his face and beard were of a pale yellow: his hands and cloaths dawbed over with filth. When I was presented to him he gave me a close embrace (a compliment I could well have excused). His employment from his first coming into the academy was an operation to reduce human excrement to its original food by separating the several parts, removing the tincture which it receives from the gall, making the odour exhale, and scumming off the saliva. He had a weekly allowance from the society of a vessel filled with human ordure about the bigness of a Bristol barrel.

I saw another at work to calcine ice into gun-powder, who likewise shewed me a treatise he had written concerning the malleability of fire, which he intended to publish.

There was a most ingenious architect, who had contrived a new method for building houses by beginning at the roof, and working downwards to the foundation, which he justified to me by the like practice of those two prudent insects the bee and the spider.

There was a man born blind, who had several apprentices in his own condition: their employment was to mix colours for painters, which their master taught them to distinguish by feeling and smelling. It was indeed my misfortune to find them at that time not very perfect in their lessons, and the professor himself happened to be generally

nerally mistaken. This artist is much encouraged and esteemed by the whole fraternity.

In another apartment I was highly pleased with a projector, who had found a device of plowing the ground with hogs, to save the charges of ploughs, cattle and labour. The method is this: in an acre of ground you bury at six inches distance and eight deep, a quantity of acorns, dates, chesnuts, and other maste or vegetables, whereof these animals are fondest: then you drive six hundred or more of them into the field, where in a few days they will root up the whole ground in search of their food, and make it fit for sowing, at the same time manuring it with their dung; it is true, upon experiment they found the charge and trouble very great, and they had little or no crop. However, it is not to be doubted that this invention may be capable of great improvement.

I went into another room, where the walls and cieling were all hung round with cobwebs, except a narrow passage for the artist to go in and out. At my entrance he called aloud to me not to disturb his webs. He lamented the fatal mistake the world had been so long in of using silk-worms, while we had such plenty of domestic insects, who infinitely excelled the former, because they understood how to weave as well as spin. And he proposed farther, that by employing spiders the charge of dying silks should be wholly saved; whereof I was fully convinced, when he shewed me a vast number of flies most beautifully coloured, wherewith he fed his spiders, assuring us that the webs would take a tincture from them; and as he had them of all hues, he hoped to fit every body's fancy, as soon as he could find proper food for the flies, of certain gums, oils, and other glutinous matter, to give a strength and consistence to the threads.

There was an astronomer, who had undertaken to place a sun-dial upon the great weather-cock on the town-house, by adjusting the annual and diurnal motions of the earth and sun, so as to answer and coincide with all accidental turnings of the wind.

I was complaining of a small fit of the cholic, upon which my conductor led me into a room where a great physician resided, who was famous for curing that disease by contrary operations from the same instrument. He

had

had a large pair of bellows with a long slender muzzle of ivory: this he conveyed eight inches up the *anus*, and drawing in the wind he affirmed he could make the guts as lank as a dried bladder. But when the disease was more stubborn and violent, he let in the muzzle while the bellows were full of wind, which he discharged into the body of the patient; then withdrew the instrument to replenish it, clapping his thumb strongly against the orifice of the fundament; and this being repeated three or four times, the adventitious wind would rush out, bringing the noxious along with it (like water put into a pump) and the patient recover. I saw him try both experiments upon a dog, but could not discern any effect from the former. After the latter the animal was ready to burst, and made so violent a discharge, as was very offensive to me and my companions. The dog died on the spot, and we left the doctor endeavouring to recover him by the same operation.

I visited many other apartments, but shall not trouble my reader with all the curiosities I observed, being studious of brevity.

I had hitherto seen only one side of the academy, the other being appropriated to the advancers of speculative learning, of whom I shall say something when I have mentioned one illustrious person more, who is called among them *the universal artist*. He told us, he had been thirty years employing his thoughts for the improvement of human life. He had two large rooms full of wonderful curiosities, and fifty men at work. Some were condensing air into a dry tangible substance by extracting the nitre, and letting the aqueous or fluid particles percolate; others softening marble for pillows and pin-cushions; others petrifying the hoofs of a living horse to preserve them from foundering. The artist himself was at that time busy upon two great designs; the first, to sow land with chaff, wherein he affirmed the true seminal virtue to be contained, as he demonstrated by several experiments, which I was not skilful enough to comprehend. The other was by a certain composition of gums, minerals and vegetables, outwardly applied to prevent the growth of wool upon two young lambs; and he hoped in

a reasonable time to propagate the breed of naked sheep all over the kingdom.

We crossed a walk to the other part of the academy, where as I have already said the projectors in speculative learning resided.

The first professor I saw was in a very large room with forty pupils about him. After salutation observing me to look earnestly upon a frame, which took up the greatest part of both the length and breadth of the room, he said perhaps I might wonder to see him employed in a project for improving speculative knowledge by practical and mechanical operations. But the world would soon be sensible of its usefulness; and he flattered himself, that a more noble exalted thought never sprang in any other man's head. Every one knew, how laborious the usual method is of attaining to arts and sciences; whereas by his contrivance the most ignorant person at a reasonable charge and with a little bodily labour might write books in philosophy, poetry, politics, law, mathematics, and theology, without the least assistance from genius or study. He then led me to the frame, about the sides whereof all his pupils stood in ranks: It was twenty feet square, placed in the middle of the room. The superficies was composed of several bits of wood about the bigness of a dye, but some larger than others. They were all linked together by slender wires. These bits of wood were covered on every square with paper pasted on them; and on these papers were written all the words of their language, in their several moods, tenses, and declensions; but without any order. The professor then desired me to observe; for he was going to set his engine at work. The pupils at his command took each of them hold of an iron handle, whereof there were forty fixed round the edges of the frame; and giving them a sudden turn, the whole disposition of the words was intirely changed. He then commanded six and thirty of the lads to read the several lines softly, as they appeared upon the frame; and where they found three or four words together, that might make part of a sentence, they dictated to the four remaining boys, who were scribes. This work was repeated three or four times, and at every turn, the engine was so contrived, that

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the words shifted into new places, as the square bits of wood moved upside down.

Six hours a-day the young students were employed in this labour, and the professor shewed me several volumes in large folio already collected of broken sentences, which he intended to piece together, and out of those rich materials to give the world a compleat body of all arts and sciences; which however might be still improved and much expedited, if the public would raise a fund for making and employing five hundred such frames in Lagado, and oblige the managers to contribute in common their several collections.

He assured me, that this invention had employed all his thoughts from his youth: that he had emptied the whole vocabulary into his frame, and made the strictest computation of the general proportion there is in books between the numbers of particles, nouns, and verbs, and other parts of speech *.

I made my humblest acknowledgment to this illustrious person for his great communicativeness; and promised, if ever I had the good fortune to return to my native country, that I would do him justice, as the sole inventor of this wonderful machine; the form and contrivance of which I desired leave to delineate upon paper, as in the figure here annexed. I told him, although it were the custom of our learned in Europe to steal inventions from each other, who had thereby at least this advantage, that it became a controversy which was the right owner; yet I would take such caution, that he should have the honour entire without a rival:

We next went to the school of languages, where three professors sat in consultation upon improving that of their own country.

* The project for a more easy and expeditious method of writing a treatise in any science, by a wooden engine, is entertainingly satirical; and is aimed at those authors who, instead of receiving materials from their own thoughts and observations, collect from dictionaries and common-place books, an irregular variety, without order, use, or design:

Ut nec pes nec caput uni

Reddatur forma.

Orrery.

The first project was to shorten discourse by cutting polysyllables into one, and leaving out verbs and participles; because in reality all things imaginable are but nouns*.

The other project was a scheme for entirely abolishing all words whatsoever; and this was urged as a great advantage in point of health, as well as brevity. For it is plain, that every word we speak, is in some degree a diminution of our lungs by corrosion; and consequently contributes to the shortening of our lives. An expedient was therefore offered, that since words are only names for *things*, it would be more convenient for all men to carry about them such *things* as were necessary to express the particular business they are to discourse on. And this invention would certainly have taken place, to the great ease as well as health of the subject, if the women in conjunction with the vulgar and illiterate had not threatened to raise a rebellion, unless they might be allowed the liberty to speak with their tongues, after the manner of their forefathers; such constant irreconcilable enemies to science are the common people. However, many of the most learned and wise adhere to the new scheme of expressing themselves by *things*, which hath only this inconvenience attending it, that if a man's business be very great and of various kinds, he must be obliged in proportion to carry a greater bundle of *things* upon his back, unless he can afford one or two strong servants to attend him. I have often beheld two of those sages almost sinking under the weight of their packs, like pedlars among us; who, when they met in the streets, would lay down their loads, open their sacks, and hold conversation for an hour together; then put up their implements, help each other to resume their burthens, and take their leave.

* This project is pointed at the pernicious custom of contracting the English language, the dialect of which is naturally harsh, and that harshness is still increased by improper contractions. As Swift was scrupulously exact in the pronunciation of his own tongue, not the least improper expression ever escaped his censure. And I remember to have seen in manuscript a dictionary of hard words, composed by him for the use of his female senate. *Errery.*

But

But for short conversations a man may carry implements in his pockets and under his arms enough to supply him; and in his house he cannot be at a loss. Therefore the room, where company meet who practise this art, is full of all *things* ready at hand, requisite to furnish matter for this kind of artificial converse.

Another great advantage proposed by this invention was, that it would serve as an universal language to be understood in all civilized nations, whose goods and utensils are generally of the same kind, or nearly resembling, so that their uses might easily be comprehended. And thus ambassadors would be qualified to treat with foreign princes, or ministers of state, to whose tongues they were utter strangers.

I was at the mathematical school, where the master taught his pupils after a method scarce imaginable to us in Europe. The proposition and demonstration were fairly written on a thin wafer, with ink composed of a cephalic tincture. This the student was to swallow upon a fasting stomach, and for three days following eat nothing but bread and water. As the wafer digested, the tincture mounted to his brain, bearing the proposition along with it. But the success hath not hitherto been answerable, partly by some error in the *quantum* or composition, and partly by the perverseness of lads; to whom this bolus is so nauseous, that they generally spit aside and discharge it upwards, before it can operate; neither have they been yet persuaded to use so long an abstinence as the prescription requires.

CHAP. VI.

*A further account of the academy. The author proposes some improvements, which are honourably received.**

IN the school of political projectors I was but ill entertained; the professors appearing in my judgment wholly out of their senses; which is a scene that never fails:

* This chapter is full of severity and satire. Sometimes it is exerted against the legislative power; sometimes against particular

fails to make me melancholy. These unhappy people were proposing schemes for persuading monarchs to chuse favourites upon the score of their wisdom, capacity, and virtue; of teaching ministers to consult the public good; of rewarding merit, great abilities, and eminent services; of instructing princes to know their true interest, by placing it on the same foundation with that of their people; of chusing for employments persons qualified to exercise them; with many other wild impossible chimæras, that never entered before into the heart of man to conceive; and confirmed in me the old observation, that there is nothing so extravagant and irrational, which some philosophers have not maintained for truth.

But however I shall so far do justice to this part of the academy, as to acknowledge that all of them were not so visionary. There was a most ingenious doctor, who seemed to be perfectly versed in the whole nature and system of government. This illustrious person had very usefully employed his studies in finding out effectual remedies for all diseases and corruptions, to which the several kinds of public administration are subject by the vices or infirmities of those who govern, as well as by the licentiousness of those who are to obey. For instance; whereas all writers and reasoners have agreed, that there is a strict universal resemblance between the natural and the political body; can there be any thing more evident, than that the health of both must be preserved and the diseases cured by the same prescriptions? It is allowed, that senates and great councils are often trou-

blous; sometimes against women: and sometimes it degenerates into filth. True humour ought to be kept up with decency and dignity, or it loses every tincture of entertainment. Descriptions that shock our delicacy, cannot have the least good effect upon our minds. They offend us, and we fly precipitately from the sight. We cannot stay long enough to examine, whether wit, sense, or morality, may be couched under such odious appearances. I am sorry to say, that these sort of descriptions, which are too often interspersed throughout all Swift's works, are seldom written with any other view, or from any other motive, than a wild unbridled indulgence of his own humour and disposition. *Errata.*

led with redundant, ebullient, and other peccant humours; with many diseases of the head, and more of the heart; with strong convulsions, with grievous contractions of the nerves and sinews in both hands, but especially the right; with spleen, flatus, vertigos and deliriums; with scrophulous tumours full of foetid purulent matter; with sour frothy ructations; with canine appetites, and crudeness of digestion, besides many others needless to mention. This doctor therefore proposed, that upon the meeting of a senate certain physicians should attend at the three first days of their sitting, and at the close of each day's debate feel the pulses of every senator; after which, having maturely considered and consulted upon the nature of the several maladies and the methods of cure, they should on the fourth day return to the senate-house attended by their apothecaries stored with proper medicines; and before the members sat, administer to each of them lenitives, aperitives, abstersives, corrosives, restringents, palliatives, laxatives, cephalalgics, icterics, apophlegmatics, acoustics, as their several cases required; and according as these medicines should operate, repeat, alter, or omit them at the next meeting.

This project could not be of any great expence to the public; and might in my poor opinion be of much use for the dispatch of business in those countries, where senates have any share in the legislative power; beget unanimity, shorten debates, open a few mouths which are now closed, and close many more which are now open; curb the petulancy of the young, and correct the positiveness of the old; rouse the stupid, and damp the pert.

Again; because it is a general complaint, that the favourites of princes are troubled with short and weak memories; the same doctor proposed, that whoever attended a first minister, after having told his business with the utmost brevity and in the plainest words, should at his departure give the said minister a tweak by the nose, or a kick in the belly, or tread on his corns, or lug him thrice by both ears, or run a pin into his breach, or pinch his arm black and blue, to prevent forgetfulness: and at every levee day repeat the same operation, till the business were done or absolutely refused.

He likewise directed, that every senator in the great council

council of a nation, after he had delivered his opinion, and argued in the defence of it, should be obliged to give his vote directly contrary; because if that were done, the result would infallibly terminate in the good of the public.

When parties in a state are violent, he offered a wonderful contrivance to reconcile them. The method is this: you take an hundred leaders of each party; you dispose them into couples of such, whose heads are nearest of a size; then let two nice operators saw off the *occiput* of each couple at the same time in such a manner, that the brain may be equally divided. Let the *occiputs* thus cut off be interchanged, applying each to the head of his opposite party-man. It seems indeed to be a work that requireth some exactness, but the professor assured us, that if it were dextrously performed the cure would be infallible. For he argued thus; that the two half brains being left to debate the matter between themselves within the space of one skull would soon come to a good understanding, and produce that moderation, as well as regularity of thinking, so much to be wished for in the heads of those, who imagine they come into the world only to watch and govern its motion: and as to the difference of brains in quantity or quality, among those who are directors in faction; the doctor assured us from his own knowledge, that it was a perfect trifle.

I heard a very warm debate between two professors about the most commodious and effectual ways and means of raising money without grieving the subject. The first affirmed, the justest method would be to lay a certain tax upon vices and folly; and the sum fixed upon every man to be rated after the fairest manner by a jury of his neighbours. The second was of an opinion directly contrary; to tax those qualities of body and mind, for which men chiefly value themselves! the rate to be more or less according to the degrees of excelling; the decision whereof should be left entirely to their own breast. The highest tax was upon men, who are the greatest favourites of the other sex, and the assessments according to the number and natures of the favours they have received; for which they are allowed to be their own vouchers. Wit, valour, and politeness were likewise proposed to be largely taxed, and collected in the same manner, by every person's

person's giving his own word for the quantum of what he possessed. But as to honour, justice, wisdom, and learning, they should not be taxed at all; because they are qualifications of so singular a kind, that no man will either allow them in his neighbour, or value them in himself.

The women were proposed to be taxed according to their beauty and skill in dressing; wherein they had the same privilege with the men, to be determined by their own judgment. But constancy, chastity, good sense, and good nature, were not rated, because they would not bear the charge of collecting.

To keep senators in the interest of the crown, it was proposed, that the members should raffle for employments; every man first taking an oath, and giving security, that he would vote for the court, whether he won or no; after which the losers had in their turn the liberty of raffling upon the next vacancy. Thus hope and expectation would be kept alive; none would complain of broken promises, but impute their disappointments wholly to fortune, whose shoulders are broader and stronger than those of a ministry.

Another professor shewed me a large paper of instructions for discovering plots and conspiracies against the government. He advised great statesmen to examine into the dyet of all suspected persons; their times of eating; upon which side they lay in bed; with which hand they wiped their posteriors; to take a strict view of their excrements, and from the colour, the odour, the taste, the consistence, the crudeness, or maturity of digestion, form a judgment of their thoughts and designs. Because men are never so serious, thoughtful, and intent, as when they are at stool, which he found by frequent experiment: for in such conjunctures, when he used merely as a trial to consider which was the best way of murdering the King, his ordure would have a tincture of green; but quite different, when he thought only of raising an insurrection, or burning the metropolis.

The whole discourse was written with great acuteness, containing many observations both curious and useful for politicians; but, as I conceived, not altogether compleat. This I ventured to tell the author, and offered if he pleased

ed to supply him with some additions. He received my proposition with more compliance, than is usual among writers, especially those of the projecting species; professing he would be glad to receive farther information.

I told him, that in the kingdom of Tribnia, by the natives called Langdon, where I had sojourned some time in my travels, the bulk of the people consist in a manner wholly of discoverers, witnesses, informers, accusers, prosecutors, evidences, swearers, together with their several subservient and subaltern instruments, all under the colours, the conduct, and pay of ministers of state and their deputies. The plots in that kingdom are usually the workmanship of those persons who desire to raise their own characters of profound politicians; to restore new vigour to a crazy administration; to stifle or divert general discontents; to fill their coffers with forfeitures; and raise or sink the opinion of public credit, as either shall best answer their private advantage. It is first agreed, and settled among them, what suspected persons shall be accused of a plot: then, effectual care is taken to secure all their letters and papers, and put the owners in chains. These papers are delivered to a set of artists, very dexterous in finding out the mysterious meanings of words, syllables, and letters; for instance, they can discover a closet-stool to signify a privy-council; a flock of geese, a senate; a lame dog *, an invader; the plague, a standing army; a buzzard, a prime minister; the gout, a high priest; a gibbet, a secretary of state; a chamber-pot, a committee of grandees; a sieve, a court-lady; a broom, a revolution; a mouse-trap, an employment; a bottomless pit, a treasury; a sink, a court; a cap and bells, a favourite; a broken reed, a court of justice; an empty tun, a general; a running sore, the administration.

When this method fails, they have two others more effectual, which the learned among them call *acrostics* and *anagrams*. First, they can decypher all initial letters into political meanings. Thus, *N* shall signify a plot, *B*, a regiment of horse, *L*, a fleet at sea: or, *sc*

* See the proceedings against Dr. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester. State-Trials, vol. 6.

condly, by transposing the letters of the alphabet in any suspected paper, they can lay open the deepest designs of a discontented party. So for example, if I should say in a letter to a friend, *Our brother Tom has just got the piles*, a skilful decypherer would discover, that the same letters, which compose that sentence, may be analysed into the following words, *Resist,——a plot is brought home——The Tour*. And this is the anagrammatic method.

The professor made me great acknowledgments for communicating these observations, and promised to make honourable mention of me in his treatise.

I saw nothing in this country, that could invite me to a longer continuance, and began to think of returning home to England.

CHAP. VII.

*The author leaves Lagado, arrives at Maldonada. No ship ready. He takes a short voyage to Glubbubdrib. His reception by the governor. **

THE continent, of which this kingdom is a part, extends itself, as I have reason to believe, eastward to that unknown tract of America westward of Ca-

* Gulliver seems to have finished his voyage to Laputa in a careless hurrying manner; which makes me almost think, that sometimes he was tired with his work, and attempted to run through it as fast as he could, otherwise why was the curtain dropt so soon, or why were we deprived of so noble a scene as might have been discovered in the island of Glubbubdrib, where the governor, by his skill in necromancy, had the power of calling whom he pleased from the dead. I have not time by this post to write to you my thoughts upon a subject, which I confess awakened, but by no means satisfied my curiosity. I lamented to find so many illustrious ghosts vanish so quickly and so abruptly from my sight, many of whom were of the brightest characters in history. In my next letter I shall endeavour to detain them a little longer in Leicester fields, than Swift suffered them to stay in the island of Sorcerers, *Orrery*.

lifornia,

ifornia, and north to the Pacific ocean, which is not above a hundred and fifty miles from Lagado; where there is a good port, and much commerce with the great island of Luggnagg, situated to the north-west about 29 degrees north latitude, and 140 longitude. This island of Luggnagg stands south-eastward of Japan, about an hundred leagues distant. There is a strict alliance between the Japanese Emperor and the King of Luggnagg, which affords frequent opportunities of sailing from one island to the other. I determined therefore to direct my course this way, in order to my return to Europe. I hired two mules, with a guide, to shew me the way, and carry my small baggage. I took leave of my noble protector, who had shewn me so much favour, and made me a generous present at my departure.

My journey was without any accident or adventure worth relating. When I arrived at the port of Maldonada (for so it is called) there was no ship in the harbour bound for Luggnagg, nor like to be in some time. The town is about as large as Portsmouth. I soon fell into some acquaintance, and was very hospitably received. A gentleman of distinction said to me, that since the ships bound for Luggnagg could not be ready in less than a month, it might be no disagreeable amusement for me to take a trip to the little island of Glubbdubdrib, about five leagues off to the south-west. He offered himself and a friend to accompany me, and that I should be provided with a small convenient barque for the voyage.

Glubbdubdrib, as nearly as I can interpret the word, signifies the island of Sorcerers or Magicians. It is about one third as large as the Isle of Wight, and extremely fruitful: it is governed by the head of a certain tribe, who are all magicians. This tribe marries only among each other, and the eldest in succession is prince or governor. He hath a noble palace, and a park of about three thousand acres, surrounded by a wall of hewn stone twenty feet high. In this park are several small inclosures for cattle, corn, and gardening.

The governor and his family are served and attended by domestics of a kind somewhat unusual. By his skill in necromancy, he hath a power of calling whom he pleaseth from the dead, and commanding their service for

twenty-

twenty-four hours, but no longer; nor can he call the same persons up again in less than three months, except upon very extraordinary occasions.

When we arrived at the island, which was about eleven in the morning, one of the gentlemen, who accompanied me, went to the governor, and desired admittance for a stranger, who came on purpose to have the honour of attending on his highness. This was immediately granted, and we all three entered the gate of the palace, between two rows of guards armed and dressed after a very antic manner, and something in their countenances that made my flesh creep with a horror I cannot express. We passed through several apartments between servants of the same sort ranked on each side, as before, till we came to the chamber of presence, where, after three profound obeysances, and a few general questions, we were permitted to sit on three stools near the lowest step of his highness's throne. He understood the language of Balnibarbi, although it were different from that of this island. He desired me to give him some account of my travels; and, to let me see that I should be treated without ceremony, he dismissed all his attendants with a turn of his finger at which, to my great astonishment, they vanished in an instant, like visions in a dream, when we awake on a sudden. I could not recover myself in some time, till the governor assured me, that I should receive no hurt; and observing my two companions to be under no concern, who had been often entertained in the same manner, I began to take courage, and related to his highness a short history of my several adventures: yet not without some hesitation, and frequently looking behind me to the place, where I had seen those domestic spectres. I had the honour to dine with the governor, where a new set of ghosts served up the meat, and waited at table. I now observed myself to be less terrified than I had been in the morning. I stayed till sun-set, but humbly desired his highness to excuse me for not accepting his invitation of lodging in the palace. My two friends and I lay at a private house in the town adjoining, which is the capital of this little island; and the next morning we returned to pay our duty to the governor, as he was pleased to command us.

After this manner we continued in the island for ten days, most part of every day with the governor, and at night in our lodging. I soon grew so familiarised to the sight of spirits, that after the third or fourth time they gave me no emotion at all: or if I had any apprehensions left, my curiosity prevailed over them. For his highness the governor ordered me to call up whatever persons I would chuse to name, and in whatever numbers, among all the dead, from the beginning of the world to the present time, and command them to answer any questions I should think fit to ask; with this condition, that my questions must be confined within the compass of the times they lived in. And one thing I might depend upon, that they would certainly tell me truth, for lying was a talent of no use in the lower world. I made my humble acknowledgments to his highness for so great a favour *. We were in a chamber, from whence there was a fair prospect into the park. And, because my first inclination was to be entertained with scenes of pomp and magnificence, I desired to see Alexander the Great at the head of his army, just after the battle of Arbela, which, upon a motion of the governor's finger, immediately appeared in a large field under the window, where we stood. Alexander was called up into the room: it was with great difficulty that I understood his Greek, and had but little of my own. He assured me upon his honour, that he was not poisoned, but died of a fever by excessive drinking †.

Next
* I believe it would be impossible to find out the design of Dr. Swift, in summoning up a parcel of apparitions, that, from their behaviour, or from any thing they say, are almost of as little consequence as the ghosts in Gay's farce of the *Who's the Devil?* Perhaps Swift's general design might be to arraign the conduct of eminent persons after their death, and to convey their names and images to posterity, deprived of those false colours in which they formerly appeared. If these were his intentions, he has missed his aim; or at least has been so far carried away by his disposition to raillery, that the moral which ought to arise from such a fable is buried in obscurity.

Oratory.

† The first airy substance introduced is Alexander the Great.

After

Chap. VII. A VOYAGE to LAPUTA, &c. 185

After a hint from Gulliver, that we have lost the true Greek idiom, the conqueror of the universe is made to declare upon his honour, "that he died by excessive drinking, not by poison." A trifling and an improper observation, because the apparition is called up as he appeared at the head of his army, just after the battle of Arbela. I own my expectations were great, when I found his appearance was to be at that particular juncture. Or rather I could have wished to have seen him after the battle of ISSUS, when the temperate use which he made of his victory, was highly worthy of imitation. Such a circumstance might have graced his triumph. There are others too in the historical records of him, that redound to his honour. The tender regard which he shewed to Pindar, by sparing the house of that poet, when he rased the city of Thebes; seems to demand perpetual gratitude from all succeeding bards. The manner in which he visited the tomb of Achilles; the affection and respect paid by him to Aristotle; the undaunted confidence placed in his physician Philip, are instances sufficient to shew, that Alexander did not want some virtues of humanity. And when we consider several of his rash actions of inebriety, they convince us how far the native excellencies of the mind may be debased and changed by passions which too often attend success and luxury,

Utcunque defecere mores

Dedecorant bene nata culpe.

It is evident, that Swift had conceived an absolute disgust to Alexander, whose character he aims to destroy, by touching it in so slight a manner, that he puts me in mind of the visit paid by Augustus Cæsar to Alexander's sepulchre at Alexandria. Upon the Emperor's arrival, the body of the Macedonian hero was found in its full dimensions, but so tender, notwithstanding all the former embalming, that Cæsar, by touching only the nose of it, defaced the whole figure immediately. *Orrery.*

In this passage there is a peculiar beauty, though it is not discovered at an hasty view. The appearance of Alexander with a victorious army immediately after the battle of Arbela, produces only a declaration that he died by drunkenness; thus inadequate and ridiculous in the eye of reason is the ultimate purpose for which Alexander with his army marched into a remote country, subverted a mighty empire, and deluged a nation with blood; he gained no more than an epithet to his name, which after a few repetitions was no longer regarded even by

Next I saw Hannibal passing the Alps, who told me, he had not a drop of vinegar in his camp *.

himself: thus the purpose of his resurrection appears to be at least equally important with that of his life, upon which it is a satire not more bitter than just. *Hawkes.*

* Hannibal seems to have been summoned with no other view than to censure Livy the historian. It is not only improbable, but impossible, that Hannibal should have carried a sufficient quantity of vinegar for the purpose related by Livy; but as vinegar will certainly soften and dissolve stones, the experiment might have been improved or so contrived by Hannibal, as to appear to make an easy and expeditious opening through some particular passage already fitted for the purpose. Such a trial, practised in that age of darkness, and properly managed; might have been universally received as a kind of miracle: so that Livy could scarce have avoided inserting the report as an acknowledged truth; especially as the fact itself seems to infer that the Romans were invincible, unless from some supernatural cause. Swift, no friend to military men, thinks the Carthaginian general unworthy of any further notice; and hastens to cull up the senate of Rome. This gives him an opportunity of being very severe upon a certain modern assembly, which he treats in a manner more resembling the Cynic in his cell, than the free-humoured Rabelais in his easy chair. *Orrery.*

Livy the Roman historian has related that Hannibal burnt a great pile of wood upon a rock that stopped his passage, and when it was thus heated poured vinegar upon it, by which it was made so soft as to be easily cut through. *Hawkes.*

Gulliver's account of his entertainment at Glubbubdrib is strangely and whimsically diverting. Alexander the Great, at the head of his army just after the battle of Arbela, assured Gulliver upon his honour, that he was not poisoned, but died of a fever by excessive drinking. And afterwards Hannibal passing the Alps, declared to him, that he had not a drop of vinegar in his camp. How ridiculous, how contemptible, are these plagues of the world, these destroyers of the human race, when stripped of their royalty and command, as well as their ability to perpetrate any further mischief?

— *Mors sola fatetur*
Quantula sint hominum corpuscula. Juv. sat. 10.

Swift.

I saw

I saw Cæsar and Pompey at the head of their troops just ready to engage. I saw the former in his last great triumph. I desired, that the senate of Rome might appear before me in one large chamber, and a modern representative in counterview in another. The first seemed to be an assembly of heroes and demi-gods, the other a knot of pedlars, pick-pockets, highwaymen, and bullies.

The governor, at my request, gave the sign for Cæsar and Brutus to advance towards us. I was struck with a profound veneration at the sight of Brutus, and could easily discover the most consummate virtue, the greatest intrepidity and firmness of mind, the truest love of his country, and general benevolence for mankind, in every lineament of his countenance. I observed with much pleasure, that these two persons were in good intelligence with each other; and Cæsar freely confessed to me, that the greatest actions of his own life were not equal, by many degrees, to the glory of taking it away. I had the honour to have much conversation with Brutus; and was told that his ancestor Junius, Socrates, Epaminondas, Cato the younger, Sir Thomas More, and himself, were perpetually together: a *sextumvirate* to which all the ages of the world cannot add a seventh*.

* Pompey and Cæsar only appear to grace the entry of Brutus, who is Swift's favourite patriot. But as Cæsar generously confessed to Gulliver, "that the greatest actions of his life were not equal, by many degrees, to the glory of taking it away;" it would have been a proper alleviation of the Dictator's crimes, to have acknowledged him the greatest statesman, orator, and soldier of the age in which he lived; an age fertile of eminent men; an age when ambition was scarce looked upon as a crime; and when the Roman virtue (once the support and preservation of the common-wealth) was long since lost in vice and luxury. At such a time a single master was become necessary; and Pompey would have seized the reins of government, had not Cæsar interposed. If the conspirators had restored liberty to their country, their act had been completely glorious, and would have shewed, that Cæsar, not Rome, was degenerated. But if we may judge from the consequences, Heaven disapproved of

It would be tedious to trouble the reader with relating, what vast numbers of illustrious persons were called up to gratify that insatiable desire I had to see the world in every

the deed. A particular fate attended the conspirators, not one of whom died a natural death. And even Brutus; perhaps recollecting in his last moments the benefits which he had received from Cæsar, was staggered in his thoughts of virtue, and imagining himself deceived by a shadow, broke out into a pathetic expression, signifying, "that he had worshipped virtue as a substance, and had found it only a shadow:" so that he seems to have wanted that fortitude of mind, which constantly attends true virtue to the grave. This defect in the character of Brutus, is not improperly expressed in the famous gallery of the Great Duke of Tuscany, where there is a very fine head of Brutus, begun by Michael Angelo, but left unfinished: under it is engraven upon a copper-plate this distich:

Dum BRUTI effigiem sculptor de marmore ducit,

In mentem sceleris venit, et abstinuit.

If Brutus erred, it was from a wrong notion of virtue. The character of Cæsar is perhaps more amiable, but less perfect. His faults were great; however, many of them were foils to his virtues. A modern eminent writer has represented him as a glutton. He tells us, that when Cæsar went to the public feasts, he constantly took a vomit in the morning, with a design to indulge himself with more keenness, and to increase his appetite for the ensuing feast. The fact is true, but I would willingly believe the inference unjust. It is more than probable, that he practised this custom by the advice of his physicians, who might direct such a regimen, as the most certain and immediate preservation against epileptic fits, to which the Dictator was often liable. My honoured father, who was excelled by few physicians in the theory of physic, has often told me, that those kind of convulsions were of such a nature as generally to come on after eating, and more violently if the stomach was overloaded. Cæsar was so careful in observing a decent dignity in his behaviour, that he dreaded the shame of exposing publicly this weakness in his constitution; and therefore guarded against it in a prudent manner, which has since been construed into a reproach. This surmise rests upon the stronger founda-

tion,

very period of antiquity placed before me. I chiefly fed mine eyes with beholding the destroyers of tyrants and usurpers, and the restorers of liberty to oppressed and injured

tion, as all authors agree, that he was most strictly and remarkably abstemious.

In his public character, Cæsar appears a strong example, how far the greatest natural and acquired accomplishments may lose their lustre, when made subservient to false glory, and an immoderate thirst of power; as, on the other hand, the history of Brutus may instruct us, what unhappy effects the rigid exercise of superior virtue, when misapplied and carried too far, may produce in the most stedfast mind, or the soundest judgment.

Gulliver has given to Brutus five companions, Jun. Brutus, Socrates, Epaminondas, Cato the censor, and Sir Thomas More. Such a sextumvirate is not easily to be increased: yet let me hope, that the reflection is too severely critical, when he adds, "that all the ages of the world cannot furnish out a seventh." Every age has produced men of virtue and abilities in the highest degree. The race of mankind, since their first creation, have been always the same. The greatest characters have been blended with the greatest faults. Poets and historians have singled out particular persons for fame and immortality: they have adorned them with accomplishments which perhaps they never possessed, while other men equally meritorious have been silently buried in oblivion, with only the self-consciousness of deserving a rank among the companions of Brutus in the Elysian fields.

In this illustrious sextumvirate, Socrates and Sir Thomas Moore undoubtedly deserve the pre-eminence. The extravagant virtue of Junius Brutus is shocking to every parent, and every good-natured mind. The important services of the father might justly have claimed from the public, the pardon of his sons: and when his paternal piety had saved their lives, his precepts and example might so effectually have reclaimed their errors, as to have made them become useful members of the common-wealth. I am fully persuaded, that if Dr. Swift had been a father, we should not have found the name of Junius Brutus where it is now placed.

In Epaminondas the Theban glory first appeared, and died.

Ha

est nations. But it is impossible to express the satisfaction I received in my own mind, after such a manner as to make it a suitable entertainment to the reader.

C H A P.

His own merit, in overcoming the greatest difficulties, entirely fixed his reputation. A happy concurrence of circumstances has often given fame to others; but Epaminondas was indebted for his superior character, only to himself.

I am in some doubt, whether Cato the censor can fairly claim a rank among so choice a group of ghosts*. He justly indeed condemned the luxury of the Romans, and he punished their vices with an impartial severity. But herein he seems to have indulged his own natural temper, rather than to have acted absolutely from a love of virtue. He was a declared enemy to poetry, painting, and all the politer arts. He was proud, vain, and morose. But, above all, he was so extremely avaritious, that Rhadamanthus, in the Archbishop of Cambray's dialogues of the dead, after expressing some regard to his merits, tells him, as he was an usurer, he could not be admitted into the Elysian fields; and therefore orders him to keep the gate as porter, in which situation he might gratify the censoriousness of his disposition, by examining every ghost that attempted to come into Elysium, and by shutting the door against all those who were not qualified for admittance. Rhadamanthus then gives him money, to pay Charon for such passengers who were not able to pay for themselves; and at the same time declares, that he will punish him as a robber, if he offers to lend out that money upon usury. How very different are the sentiments of Abp. Fenelon, and of Dr. Swift, in their judgment of Cato? The one thinks him unworthy of a place among millions in Elysium, while the other distinguishes him among the greatest men of antiquity. From this dissension of opinions may be traced, perhaps, the particular temper both of the Archbishop and of the Dean; and from thence may be deduced the reason why the censor was esteemed by the latter, and condemned by the former. *Orrery.*

* This note of his Lordship is an encomium on the judgment of our author, who knew that Cato the censor and Cato the younger were very different persons, and for good reasons preferred the latter. *Hawkes.*

CHAP. VIII.

A further account of Glubbubdrib. Ancient and modern history corrected.

HAVING a desire to see those ancients, who were most renowned for wit and learning, I set apart one day on purpose. * I proposed that Homer and Aristotle

The noble author finishes his remarks on this seventh chapter, by observing, that "Gulliver, after having taken a transient view of numberless illustrious persons, whom he does not name, closes the chapter, and gives him an opportunity of finishing his letter;" and then addresses his son thus: "Late, very late, may you become a ghost! and when one, may you equal any of Swift's sextumvirate; and may his ghost (grown less cynical and better instructed) rejoice to admit you into the company, from which he has so arbitrarily excluded all future generations."

Gulliver has not excluded all future generations from adding to this sextumvirate. For he speaks only of the time past. What Cato's may appear to bless the world, and oppose the torrent of corruption, in after ages, God only knows. Swift.

* Gulliver, tired of heroes, changes the scene in this 8th chapter, and becomes curious to know the situation of poets and philosophers, who, in their turn, have as eagerly contended for fame, as Cæsar did for power, or Brutus for liberty. He desires, that Homer and Aristotle may make their appearance at the head of their commentators. "Homer," says our traveller, "was the taller and comlier person of the two; walked very erect for one of his age, and his eyes were the most quick and piercing I ever beheld †." It is certain, that Homer has rather gained, than lost vigour by his years. Twenty-six centuries have not unbraced his nerves, or given one wrinkle to his brow. And although Gulliver has bestowed upon him the

† All that is meant by Gulliver is, that Homer had the most quick and piercing genius of all human race. Swift. — See vol. 6. p. o.

Aristotle might appear at the head of all their commentators ; but these were so numerous, that some hundreds were forced to attend in the court and outward rooms of the

additional ornament of fine eyes, yet I am apt to think they made the figure of this divine old man less awful : at least I am glad that he wanted his eye-sight while he lived ; since it is impossible not to conclude from the productions of Homer and Milton, that the *mind's eye* becomes more intensely discerning, when it is not interrupted by external objects. It is an old observation, that Homer has nourished more persons than Sylla, Cæsar, and Augustus ; and while their pictures have decayed, not a letter of the Iliad has been lost. The Grecian poet not only preserves his original form, but breathes freely, and looks beautifully, in other languages ; a happier metempsychosis than Pythagoras ever dreamed of. However, if Homer was absolutely obliged to wear the different dresses which have been given to him, he would sometimes, I believe, find the motion of his limbs uneasy and confined ; and would prefer his own simple attire, even to the birth-day-suit which our English bard has given him. The commentators have done less honour to Homer, than the translators. Some of those learned pedants have entirely wasted their observations upon particles and words ; others have run into a minute exactness, in comparing the propriety of his images ; while others, again, have endeavoured to trace out from the Iliad and Odyssey, all the rudiments of arts and sciences. Some there are who dwell on such narrow circumstances as were neglected by Homer, and can only be suitable to their own confined genius. They are not able to pursue him in his sublime flights, and attempt therefore to bring him upon a level with themselves. Their low mechanical notions remind me of an absurd problem, proposed by the famous Monsr. Huet, whether the Iliad might not be written upon vellum in so small a hand, that the whole might be contained within a nut-shell ? This important question is said to have engaged the thoughts and attention of the French court, and gives us a true picture of a laborious, tasteless critic, upon Homer. The Dauphin and his train, are for putting the Iliad into a nut-shell, when Alexander and his courtiers chose the richest and most curious cabinet of Darius, as the only proper repository for Homer's works.

the palace. I knew and could distinguish those two heroes at first sight, not only from the crowd, but from each other. Homer was the taller and comlier person of the two, walked very erect for one of his age, and his eyes were the most quick and piercing I ever beheld. Aristotle stooped much, and made use of a staff. His visage was meagre, his hair lank and thin, and his voice hollow *. I soon discovered that both of them were perfect

Homer and Aristotle were as opposite as possible in their characters: but Dr. Swift has placed them together, chiefly with a view of shewing their commentators in that just and ridiculous light in which those scholiasts ought to appear. When an age is blessed with the productions of an uncommon genius, such as resembles Homer, it must, in some measure, be punished by bad imitations and comments; in the same manner that you may have observed the sun, by its heat and influence, raising vapours, and animating insects, that infect, and perhaps corrupt the air, in which he shines with so much lustre. But when an original admired author, as Aristotle, is really erroneous, and deceives with false specious principles, what a train of errors must arise from commentators on such subjects, who, while they endeavour to pursue and extend a pleasing enchanted prospect, that has no real foundation, deviate into a dark, disagreeable road of briers and thorns? — It is on this account, that the Dean has introduced Aristotle in company with Homer.

Orrery.

* This description of Aristotle is fine, and in a few words, represents the true nature of his works. By not having the immortal spirit of Homer, he was unable to keep his body erect; and his staff, which feebly supported him, like his commentators, made this defect more conspicuous. He wanted not some useful qualities; but these *real ornaments*, like his hair, were thin and *ungraceful* †. His style was harsh, and, like his voice, had neither force nor harmony. He was without doubt a man of great genius and penetration; but he did infinitely more prejudice than service to real literature. He studied words more than

† In this the noble commentator seems to be mistaken; for it cannot be believed, that Aristotle's *real ornaments*, however few, were ungraceful. *Hawkes.*

facts;

fect strangers to the rest of the company, and had never seen or heard of them before. And I had a whisper from a ghost, who shall be nameless, that these commentators always

facts; and delivered his philosophy perplexed with such intricate logical terms, as have laid a foundation for the endless scholastic disputations which have corrupted and retarded the progress of learning. He waged war with all his predecessors. He never quotes an author but with a view to refute his opinion. Like the Ottoman Emperor, he could not reign in safety, till he had first destroyed his brethren. He was as ambitious in science, as his pupil Alexander was in arms. He aimed to be a despotic original; and not only to be the prince, but the tyrant of philosophy. What then can be expected from the commentators of his works, who were devoid of his ingenuity, and possessed all his intricate follies? Ramus with his covert ignorance, and Scotus and Aquinas, with their subdivisions and imaginary nothings, must make a contemptible figure in the Elysian fields, which are the supposed mansions of cheerfulness, truth, and candour, and consequently must be a very improper situation for that tribe of philosophers. *Orrery.*

In Gulliver's portrait of Homer, we observe all the marks and delineations of quickness, genius, and fire, accompanied with an exquisite power and felicity, in the communication of his ideas, with clearness and force, unto the souls of his auditors. Swift's portrait of Aristotle is equally strong and masterly. He stooped much, saith he, and made use of a staff; that is, he thought, he considered, he ruminated, he pondered deeply, on the most intricate and abstruse points relating to the sciences; and, by the force of reasoning, which is meant by his staff, he cleared his way through briers and thorns, until he struck into the road which leads to science and philosophy.—The remaining part of Aristotle's portrait, is only the representation of an abstracted scholar, worn away and decayed with years, hard study, nocturnal lucubrations, and the want of bodily exercise.

Some would make Swift treat Aristotle with very little respect. But, on the contrary, Swift admired Aristotle beyond all the philosophers which had appeared in the world, from the days of Alexander the Great to the moment he was then writing; I had almost said, even to the contempt of all others, not excepting

always kept in the most distant quarters from their principals in the lower world, through a consciousness of shame and guilt, because they had so horribly misrepresented the meaning of those authors to posterity. I introduced Didymus and Eustathius to Homer, and prevailed on him to treat them better than perhaps they deserved, for he soon found they wanted a genius to enter into the spirit of a poet. But Aristotle was out of all patience with the account I gave him of Scotus and Ramus, as I presented them to him, and he asked them whether the rest of the tribe were as great dunces as themselves.

I then desired the governor to call up Descartes and Gassendi, with whom I prevailed to explain their systems to Aristotle. This great philosopher freely acknowledged his own mistakes in natural philosophy, because he proceeded in many things upon conjecture, as all men must do; and he found that Gassendi, who had made the doctrine of Epicurus as palatable as he could, and the *vortices* of Descartes, were equally to be exploded *. He pre-

ing Descartes, Gassendi, and the famous Sir Isaac Newton.— From a little book of instructions which Dr. Swift was pleased to draw up for the use of a lady, I shall, in his own words, give his real opinion of Aristotle. “Aristotle, the disciple of Plato, and tutor to Alexander the Great. His followers were called *Peripatetics*, from a Greek word which signifies *to walk*; because he taught his disciples *walking*. We have not all his works; and some of those which are imputed to him, are supposed not genuine. He writ upon *logic*, or the art of reasoning; upon *moral* and *natural philosophy*; upon *oratory*, *poetry*, etc. and seems to be a person of the most *comprehensive genius that ever lived*.” Swift.

* I believe you will find, that Aristotle is still to be preferred to Epicurus. The former made some useful experiments and discoveries, and was engaged in a real pursuit of knowledge, although his manner is much perplexed. The latter was full of vanity and ambition. He was an impostor, and only aimed at deceiving. He seemed not to believe the principles which he has asserted. He committed the government of all things to chance. His natural philosophy is absurd. His moral philosophy wants its proper basis, the fear of God. M. Bayle,

predicted the same fate to *attraction*, whereof the present learned are such zealous assertors. He said, that new systems of nature were but new fashions, which would vary

one of his warmest advocates is of this last opinion, where he says, *On ne scauroit pas dire assez de bien de l'honnêteté de ses mœurs, ni assez de mal de ses opinions sur la religion.* His general maxim, that happiness consisted in pleasure, was too much unguarded, and must lay a foundation of a most destructive practice: although from his temper and constitution, he made his actions sufficiently pleasurable to himself, and agreeable to the rules of true philosophy. His fortune exempted him from care and solicitude; his valetudinarian habit of body, from intemperance. He passed the greatest part of his time in his garden, where he enjoyed all the elegant amusements of life. There he studied; there he taught his philosophy. This particular happy situation greatly contributed to that tranquillity of mind, and indolence of body, which he made his chief ends. He had not however resolution sufficient to meet the gradual approaches of death, and wanted that constancy which Sir William Temple ascribes to him: for, in his last moments, when he found that his condition was desperate, he took such large draughts of wine, that he was absolutely intoxicated, and deprived of his senses; so that he died more like a Bacchanal, than a philosopher; to which the epigram alludes,

Hinc stygias ebrius hausit aquas.

I should not have ventured into this criticism and censure upon these ancient philosophers, if my opinion was not in a great measure supported by Lord Bacon, who, as he was certainly the most accurate judge of this subject, might be perhaps, from that pre-eminence, too severe a critic. It must be owned, that Epicurus in particular has many followers and admirers among the ancients, and among the moderns. Cicero commends him for cultivating his friendships in the most exquisite manner. The book lies open before me, and I will transcribe the words. *De qua [amicitia] Epicurus quidem ita dicit, omnium rerum quas ad beate vivendum sapientia comparaverit, nihil esse majus amicitia, nihil uberius, nihil jucundius; neque vero hoc oratione solum, sed multo magis vita, et factis, et moribus, comprobavit.* Diogenes Laertius praises his virtue and learning. In the Augustan age the greatest names are inserted among his followers. Cæsar, Atticus, Mæcenas, Lucretius, Virgil and Horace, embraced his philosophy,

Chap. VIII. A VOYAGE TO LAPUTA, *etc.* 197
vary in every age: and even those, who pretend to demonstrate them from mathematical principles, would flourish but a short period of time, and be out of vogue when that was determined.

I spent five days in conversing with many others of the sophy, and gave a lustre to his sect and doctrines. Sir William Temple says, "that he wonders why such sharp investives were so generally made against Epicurus, by the ages that followed him; especially as his admirable wit, felicity of expression, excellence of nature, sweetness of conversation, temperance of life, and constancy of death, made him so much beloved by his friends, admired by his scholars, and honoured by the Athenians." Sir William Temple imputes this injustice "to the envy and malignity of the Stoics, and to some gross pretenders, who assumed the denomination of that sect; who mistook his favourite principle," [THAT ALL HAPPINESS CONSISTED IN PLEASURE], "by confining it to sensual pleasure only. To these succeeded the Christians, who esteemed his principles of natural philosophy more opposite to those of our religion, than either the Platonists, the Peripatetics, or even the Stoics themselves." This is the opinion, and these are almost the exact words of the great Sir William Temple.

Swift equally explodes Epicurus, and the more modern philosophers Descartes and Gassendi.

Descartes was a knight-errant in philosophy, perpetually mistaking windmills for giants; yet by the strength of a warm imagination, he started some opinions, which probably put Sir Isaac Newton and others on making many experiments that produced most useful discoveries.

Gassendi was esteemed one of the greatest ornaments of France. He was a doctor of divinity, and royal professor of mathematics. He was born in Provence in 1592, and died in 1655. With great industry he collected whatever related to the person and to the philosophy of Epicurus; the latter of which he has reduced into a complete system. *Hawkes.*

I have now cursorily gone through the characters of such ghosts, as are nominally specified by Gulliver. I may be wrong either in my account or in my observations: and I shall rejoice to be confuted by you in any point of learning whatever. *Errery.*

ancient learned. I saw most of the first Roman emperors. I prevailed on the governor to call up Eliogabalus's cooks to dress us a dinner, but they could not shew us much of their skill for want of materials. A *belot* of Agefilaus made us a dish of Spartan broth, but I was not able to get down a second spoonful.

The two gentlemen, who conducted me to the island, were pressed by their private affairs to return in three days, which I employed in seeing some of the modern dead, who had made the greatest figure for two or three hundred years past in our own and other countries of Europe; and having been always a great admirer of old illustrious families, I desired the governor would call up a dozen or two of kings, with their ancestors in order for eight or nine generations. But my disappointment was grievous and unexpected. For, instead of a long train with royal diadems, I saw in one family two fiddlers, three spruce courtiers, and an Italian prelate. In another, a barber, an abbot, and two cardinals. I have too great a veneration for crowned heads to dwell any longer on so nice a subject. But as to counts, marquesses, dukes, earls, and the like, I was not so scrupulous. And, I confess, it was not without some pleasure, that I found myself able to trace the particular features, by which certain families are distinguished up to their originals. I could plainly discover from whence one family derives a long chin, why a second hath abounded with knaves for two generations, and fools for two more; why a third happened to be crack-brained, and a fourth to be sharpers; whence it came, what Polydore Virgil says of a certain great house, *Nec vir fortis, nec fœmina casta*; how cruelty, falshood, and cowardice grew to be characteristics, by which certain families are distinguished as much as by their coats of arms; who first brought the pox into a noble house, which hath lineally descended in scrophulous tumours to their posterity. Neither could I wonder at all this, when I saw such an interruption of lineages by pages, lacqueys, valets, coachmen, gamesters, fiddlers, players, captains, and pick-pockets.

I was chiefly disgusted with modern history. For having strictly examined all the persons of greatest name in the courts of princes for an hundred years past, I found how

how the world had been misled by prostitute writers to ascribe the greatest exploits in war to cowards, the wisest counsel to fools, sincerity to flatterers, Roman virtue to betrayers of their country, piety to atheists, chastity to sodomites, truth to informers : how many innocent and excellent persons had been condemned to death or banishment by the practising of great ministers upon the corruption of judges, and the malice of factions : how many villains had been exalted to the highest places of trust, power, dignity, and profit : how great a share in the motions and events of courts, councils, and senates, might be challenged by bawds, whores, pimps, parasites, and buffoons : how low an opinion I had of human wisdom and integrity, when I was truly informed of the springs and motives of great enterprizes and revolutions in the world, and of the contemptible accidents to which they owed their success.

Here I discovered the roguery and ignorance of those, who pretend to write *anecdotes*, or secret history ; who send so many kings to their graves with a cup of poison ; will repeat the discourse between a prince and chief minister, where no witness was by ; unlock the thoughts and cabinets of ambassadors and secretaries of state ; and have the perpetual misfortune to be mistaken. Here I discovered the true causes of many great events that have surprised the world ; how a whore can govern the back-stairs, the back-stairs a council, and the council a senate. A general confessed in my presence, that he got a victory purely by the force of cowardice and ill conduct : and an admiral, that for want of proper intelligence he beat the enemy, to whom he intended to betray the fleet. Three kings protested to me, that in their whole reigns they never did once prefer any person of merit, unless by mistake, or treachery of some minister in whom they confided : neither would they do it if they were to live again ; and they shewed with great strength of reason, that the royal throne could not be supported without corruption, because that positive, confident, restive temper, which virtue infused into a man, was a perpetual clog to public business.

I had the curiosity to enquire in a particular manner, by what method great numbers had procured to themselves high titles of honour and prodigious estates ; and I

confined my enquiry to a very modern period, however without grating upon present times, because I would be sure to give no offence even to foreigners; for I hope the reader need not to be told, that I do not in the least intend my own country in what I say upon this occasion. A great number of persons concerned were called up, and upon a very slight examination discovered such a scene of infamy, that I cannot reflect upon it without some seriousness. Perjury, oppression, subornation, fraud, pandarism, and the like *infirmities*, were amongst the most excusable arts they had to mention; and for these I gave, as it was reasonable, great allowance. But when some confessed they owed their greatness and wealth to sodomy, or incest; others to the prostituting of their own wives and daughters; others to the betraying their country or their prince; some to poisoning, more to the perverting of justice in order to destroy the innocent; I hope I may be pardoned, if these discoveries inclined me a little to abate of that profound veneration, which I am naturally apt to pay to persons of high rank, who ought to be treated with the utmost respect due to their sublime dignity by us their inferiors.

I had often read of some great services done to princes and states, and desired to see the persons by whom those services were performed. Upon enquiry I was told, that their names were to be found on no record, except a few of them, whom history hath represented as the vilest rogues and traitors. As to the rest, I had never once heard of them. They all appeared with dejected looks, and in the meanest habit, most of them telling me they died in poverty and disgrace, and the rest on a scaffold or a gibbet.

Among others there was one person, whose case appeared a little singular. He had a youth about eighteen years old standing by his side. He told me he had for many years been commander of a ship; and in the sea-fight at Actium had the good fortune to break through the enemy's great line of battle, sink three of their capital ships, and take a fourth, which was the sole cause of Anthony's flight, and of the victory that ensued; that the youth standing by him, his only son, was killed in the action. He added, that upon the confidence of some merit,

merit, the war being at an end, he went to Rome, and solicited at the court of Augustus to be preferred to a greater ship, whose commander had been killed; but without any regard to his pretensions it was given to a boy, who had never seen the sea, the son of Libertina, who waited on one of the emperor's mistresses. Returning back to his own vessel, he was charged with neglect of duty, and the ship given to a favourite page of Publiola, the vice-admiral; whereupon he retired to a poor farm at a great distance from Rome, and there ended his life. I was so curious to know the truth of this story, that I desired Agrippa might be called, who was admiral in that fight. He appeared, and confirmed the whole account, but with much more advantage to the captain, whose modesty had extenuated or concealed a great part of his merit.

I was surprised to find corruption grown so high and so quick in that empire, by the force of luxury so lately introduced, which made me less wonder at many parallel cases in other countries, where vices of all kinds have reigned so much longer, and where the whole praise, as well as pillage, hath been ingrossed by the chief commander, who perhaps had the least title to either.

As every person called up made exactly the same appearance he had done in the world, it gave me melancholy reflections to observe, how much the race of human kind was degenerated among us within these hundred years past. How the pox under all its consequences and denominations had altered every lineament of an English countenance; shortened the size of bodies, unbraced the nerves, relaxed the sinews and muscles, introduced a fallow complexion, and rendered the flesh loose and rancid.

I descended so low as to desire, that some English yeomen of the old stamp might be summoned to appear; once so famous for the simplicity of their manners, diet, and dress; for justice in their dealings; for their true spirit of liberty; for their valour and love of their country. Neither could I be wholly unmoved, after comparing the living with the dead, when I considered how all those pure native virtues were prostituted for a piece of money by their grand-children, who, in selling their votes, and

and managing at elections, have acquired every vice and corruption that can possibly be learned in a court.

C H A P. IX.

The author returns to Maldonada. Sails to the kingdom of Luggnagg. The author confined. He is sent for to court. The manner of his admittance. The king's great lenity to his subjects.

THE day of our departure being come, I took leave of his highness, the governor of Glubbubdribb, and returned with my two companions to Maldonada, where after a fortnight's waiting, a ship was ready to sail for Luggnagg. The two gentlemen, and some others, were so generous and kind as to furnish me with provisions, and see me on board. I was a month in this voyage. We had one violent storm, and were under a necessity of steering westward to get into the trade-wind, which holds for above sixty leagues. On the 21st of April, 1708, we sailed into the river of Clumegnig, which is a sea-port town at the south-east point of Luggnagg. We cast anchor within a league of the town, and made a signal for a pilot. Two of them came on board in less than half an hour, by whom we were guided between certain shoals and rocks, which are very dangerous in the passage, to a large basin, where a fleet may ride in safety within a cable's length of the town wall.

Some of our sailors, whether out of treachery or inadvertence, had informed the pilots that I was a stranger and a great traveller; whereof these gave notice to a custom-house officer, by whom I was examined very strictly upon my landing. This officer spoke to me in the language of Balnibarbi, which by the force of much commerce is generally understood in that town, especially by seamen, and those employed in the customs. I gave him a short account of some particulars, and made my story as plausible and consistent as I could; but I thought it necessary to disguise my country, and call myself an Hollander, because my intentions were for Japan,
and

and I knew the Dutch were the only Europeans permitted to enter into that kingdom. I therefore told the officer, that having been shipwrecked on the coast of Balni-barbi, and cast on a rock, I was received up into Laputa, or the flying island (of which he had often heard) and was now endeavouring to get to Japan, from whence I might find a convenience of returning to my own country. The officer said, I must be confined till he could receive orders from court, for which he would write immediately, and hoped to receive an answer in a fortnight. I was carried to a convenient lodging with a centry placed at the door; however, I had the liberty of a large garden, and was treated with humanity enough, being maintained all the time at the King's charge. I was invited by several persons, chiefly out of curiosity, because it was reported that I came from countries very remote, of which they had never heard.

I hired a young man, who came in the same ship, to be an interpreter: he was a native of Luggnagg, but had lived some years at Maldonada, and was a perfect master of both languages. By his assistance I was able to hold a conversation with those who came to visit me; but this consisted only of their questions and my answers.

The dispatch came from court about the time we expected. It contained a warrant for conducting me and my retinue to Traldragdubh, or Trildrogdrib, for it is pronounced both ways, as near as I can remember, by a party of ten horse. All my retinue was that poor lad for an interpreter, whom I persuaded into my service, and at my humble request we had each of us a mule to ride on. A messenger was dispatched half a day's journey before us to give the King notice of my approach, and to desire that his Majesty would please to appoint a day and hour, when it would be his gracious pleasure, that I might have the honour to *lick the dust before his foot-stool*. This is the court style, and I found it to be more than matter of form. For, upon my admittance two days after my arrival, I was commanded to crawl upon my belly, and lick the floor as I advanced; but on account of my being a stranger care was taken to have it made so clean, that the dust was not offensive. However, this was a peculiar grace, not allowed to any but persons of the highest rank,

rank, when they desire an admittance. Nay, sometimes the floor is strewed with dust on purpose, when the person to be admitted happens to have powerful enemies at court. And I have seen a great lord with his mouth so crammed, that, when he had crept to the proper distance from the throne, he was not able to speak a word. Neither is there any remedy; because it is capital for those who receive an audience, to spit or wipe their mouths in his Majesty's presence. There is indeed another custom which I cannot altogether approve of; when the king hath a mind to put any of his nobles to death in a gentle, indulgent manner, he commands the floor to be strewed with a certain brown powder of a deadly composition, which being licked up infallibly kills him in twenty-four hours. But in justice to this prince's great clemency, and the care he hath of his subjects lives (wherein it were much to be wished, that the monarchs of Europe would imitate him) it must be mentioned for his honour, that strict orders are given to have the infected parts of the floor well washed after every such execution; which if his domesticks neglect, they are in danger of incurring his royal displeasure. I myself heard him give directions, that one of his pages should be whipt, whose turn it was to give notice about washing the floor after an execution, but maliciously had omitted it, by which neglect a young lord of great hopes coming to an audience was unfortunately poisoned, although the King at that time had no design against his life. But this good prince was so gracious as to forgive the poor page his whipping, upon promise that he would do so no more without special orders.

To return from this digression; when I had crept within four yards of the throne, I raised myself gently upon my knees, and then, striking my forehead seven times against the ground, I pronounced the following words, as they had been taught me the night before, *Ickpling glosfihrobb squut serumm blihop mlashtalt zwinn nodbalkuffh siophad gurdubh asht*: This is the compliment established by the laws of the land for all persons admitted to the King's presence. It may be rendered into English thus: *May your celestial Majesty outlive the sun, eleven moons and a half*. To this the King returned some answer, which although I could not understand, yet I replied

plied as I had been directed: *flute drin yalerick dwuldom prastrad mirpush*, which properly signifies, *my tongue is in the mouth of my friend*; and by this expression was meant, that I desired leave to bring my interpreter; whereupon the young man already mentioned was accordingly introduced, by whose intervention I answered as many questions as his Majesty could put in above an hour. I spoke in the Balnibarbian tongue, and my interpreter delivered my meaning in that of Luggnagg.

The King was much delighted with my company, and ordered his Blisfmarklub, or high chamberlain, to appoint a lodging in the court for me and my interpreter, with a daily allowance for my table, and a large purse of gold for my common expences.

I stayed three months in this country out of perfect obedience to his Majesty, who was pleased highly to favour me, and made me very honourable offers. But I thought it more consistent with prudence and justice to pass the remainder of my days with my wife and family.

CHAP. X.

The Luggnuggians commended. A particular description of the Struldbrugs, with many conversations between the author and some eminent persons upon that subject.

THE Luggnuggians are a polite and generous people; and although they are not without some share of that pride, which is peculiar to all *eastern* countries, yet they shew themselves courteous to strangers, especially such who are countenanced by the court. I had many acquaintance among persons of the best fashion, and being always attended by my interpreter, the conversation we had was not disagreeable.

One day, in much good company, I was asked by a person of quality, whether I had seen any of their Struldbrugs or immortals. I said, I had not; and desired he would explain to me, what he meant by such an appellation

tion applied to a mortal creature. * He told me, that sometimes, though very rarely, a child happened to be born in a family with a red circular spot in the forehead di-

* The description of the Struldbrugs is an instructive piece of morality. For if we consider it in a serious light, it tends to reconcile us to our final dissolution. Death, when set in contrast to the immortality of the Struldbrugs, is no longer the king of terrors: he loses his sting; he appears to us as a friend, and we cheerfully obey his summons, because it brings certain relief to the greatest miseries. It is in this description, that Swift shines in a particular manner. He probably felt in himself the effects of approaching age, and tacitly dreaded that period of life in which he might become a representative of those *miserable immortals*. His apprehensions were unfortunately fulfilled. He lived to be the most melancholy sight that was ever beheld. Yet, even in that condition, he continued to instruct, by appearing a providential instance to mortify the vanity which is too apt to arise in the human breast. Our life cannot be pronounced happy, till the last scene is closed with ease and resignation; the mind still continuing to preserve its usual dignity, and falling into the arms of death, as a wearied traveller sinks into rest. This is that *Euthanasia* which Augustus often desired, which Antoninus Pius enjoyed, and for which every wise man will pray. *Orrery*.

Gulliver's account of the Struldbrugs, is the finest lecture that ever was conceived by any mortal man, to reconcile poor tottering creatures unto a cheerful resignation of this wretched life; and perfectly agreeable to that sentiment of the inspired Prophet, *The days of our life are threescore years and ten; and though men be so strong, that they live to fourscore years; yet is their life then but labour and sorrow*. Those dispensations of the Almighty, which are frequently the concomitants of old age, Dr. Swift, throughout his whole life, constantly apprehended, from some peculiar infirmities attending his habit of body, would seize upon him at last. These Lord Orrery, without any sort of hesitation, roundly asserts to be the avenging judgments of God, as if he had been let into the secret by some particular revelation. But, instead of insulting the ashes of so bright a genius with the infirmities of his latter days, and comparing him to one of his own Struldbrugs, we should endeavour to in-

flame

directly over the left eye-brow, which was an infallible mark, that it should never die. The spot, as he described it, was about the compass of a silver three-pence, but in the course of time grew larger, and changed its colour; for at twelve years old it became green, so continued till five and twenty, then turned to a deep blue; at five and forty it grew coal black, and as large as an English shilling; but never admitted any farther alteration. He said, these births were so rare, that he did not believe there could be above eleven hundred Struldbrugs of both sexes in the whole kingdom, of which he computed about fifty in the metropolis, and among the rest a young girl born about three years ago: that these productions were not peculiar to any family, but a meer effect of chance; and the children of the Struldbrugs themselves were equally mortal with the rest of the people.

I freely own myself to have been struck with inexpressible delight upon hearing this account: and the person, who gave it me, happening to understand the Balnibarbian language, which I spoke very well, I could not forbear breaking out into expressions perhaps a little too extravagant. I cried out, as in a rapture, Happy nation, where every child hath at least a chance for being immortal! happy people, who enjoy so many living examples of ancient virtue, and have masters ready to instruct them in the wisdom of all former ages! but, happiest beyond all comparison are those excellent Struldbrugs, who being born exempt from that universal calamity of human nature, have their minds free and disengaged, without the weight and depression of spirits caused by the continual apprehension of death. I discovered my admiration, that I had not observed any of these illustrious persons at court; the black spot on the forehead being so remarkable a distinction, that I could not have easily overlooked it: and it was impossible that his Majesty, a most judicious prince, should not provide himself with a good number of such wise and able counsellors. Yet perhaps

flame our souls by catching fire and spirit, and patriotism from his inimitable writings; and silently confess the ways of God to be inscrutable, and his judgments past finding out. *Swift.*

the virtue of those reverend sages was too strict for the corrupt and libertine manners of a court. And we often find by experience, that young men are too opinionative and volatile to be guided by the sober dictates of their seniors. However, since the King was pleased to allow me access to his royal person, I was resolved, upon the very first occasion, to deliver my opinion to him on this matter freely and at large by the help of my interpreter; and whether he would please to take my advice or no, yet in one thing I was determined, that, his Majesty having frequently offered me an establishment in this country, I would with great thankfulness accept the favour, and pass my life here in the conversation of those superior beings, the Struldbrugs, if they would please to admit me.

The gentleman, to whom I addressed my discourse, because (as I have already observed) he spoke the language of Balnibarbi, said to me with a sort of a smile, which usually riseth from pity to the ignorant, that he was glad of any occasion to keep me among them, and desired my permission to explain to the company what I had spoke. He did so, and they talked together for some time in their own language, whereof I understood not a syllable, neither could I observe by their countenances, what impression my discourse had made on them. After a short silence the same person told me, that his friends and mine (so he thought fit to express himself) were very much pleased with the judicious remarks I had made on the great happiness and advantages of immortal life, and they were desirous to know, in a particular manner, what scheme of living I should have formed to myself, if it had fallen to my lot to have been born a Struldbrug.

I answered, it was easy to be eloquent on so copious and delightful a subject, especially to me, who had been often apt to amuse myself with visions of what I should do, if I were a King, a general, or a great lord: and, upon this very case, I had frequently run over the whole system how I should employ myself, and pass the time, if I were sure to live for ever.

That, if it had been my good fortune to come into the world a Struldbrug, as soon as I could discover my own hap-

happiness by understanding the difference between life and death, I would first resolve by all arts and methods whatsoever, to procure myself riches. In the pursuit of which by thrift and management, I might reasonably expect in about two hundred years to be the wealthiest man in the kingdom. In the second place, I would from my earliest youth apply myself to the study of arts and sciences, by which I should arrive in time to excel all others in learning. Lastly, I would carefully record every action and event of consequence that happened in the public, impartially draw the characters of the several successions of princes and great ministers of state, with my own observations on every point. I would exactly set down the several changes in customs, language, fashions of dress, diet and diversions. By all which acquirements I should be a living treasury of knowledge and wisdom, and certainly become the oracle of the nation.

I would never marry after threescore, but live in an hospitable manner, yet still on the saving side. I would entertain myself in forming and directing the minds of hopeful young men, by convincing them from my own remembrance, experience and observation, fortified by numerous examples, of the usefulness of virtue in public and private life. But my choice and constant companions should be a set of my own immortal brotherhood, among whom I would elect a dozen from the most ancient down to my own contemporaries. Where any of these wanted fortunes, I would provide them with convenient lodges round my own estate, and have some of them always at my table, only mingling a few of the most valuable among you mortals, whom length of time would harden me to lose with little or no reluctance, and treat your posterity after the same manner; just as a man diverts himself with the annual succession of pinks and tulips in his garden, without regretting the loss of those, which withered the preceding year.

These Struldbrugs and I would mutually communicate our observations, and memorials through the course of time; remark the several gradations by which corruption steals into the world, and oppose it in every step by giving perpetual warning and instruction to mankind; which, added to the strong influence of our own example, would

probably prevent that continual degeneracy of human nature so justly complained of in all ages.

Add to all this the pleasure of seeing the various revolutions of states and empires ; the changes in the lower and upper world ; ancient cities in ruins, and obscure villages become the seats of kings ; famous rivers lessening into shallow brooks ; the ocean leaving one coast dry, and overwhelming another ; the discovery of many countries yet unknown ; barbarity over-running the politest nations, and the most barbarous become civilized. I should then see the discovery of the *longitude*, the *perpetual motion*, the *universal medicine*, and many other great inventions brought to the utmost perfection.

What wonderful discoveries should we make in astronomy by out-living and confirming our own predictions, by observing the progress and returns of comets, with the changes of motion in the sun, moon, and stars.

I enlarged upon many other topics, which the natural desire of endless life and sublunary happiness could easily furnish me with. When I had ended, and the sum of my discourse had been interpreted, as before, to the rest of the company, there was a good deal of talk among them in the language of the country, not without some laughter at my expence. At last the same gentleman, who had been my interpreter, said he was desired by the rest to set me right in a few mistakes, which I had fallen into through the common imbecillity of human nature, and upon that allowance was less answerable for them. That this breed of Strulldbrugs was peculiar to their country, for there were no such people either in Balnibarbi, or Japan, where he had the honour to be ambassador from his Majesty, and found the natives in both those kingdoms very hard to believe, that the fact was possible ; and it appeared from my astonishment, when he first mentioned the matter to me, that I received it as a thing wholly new, and scarcely to be credited. That in the two kingdoms above mentioned, where during his residence he had conversed very much, he observed long life to be the universal desire and wish of mankind. That whoever had one foot in the grave, was sure to hold back the other as strongly as he could. That the oldest had still hopes of living one day longer, and looked on death

death as the greatest evil, from which nature always prompted him to retreat; only in this island of Luggnagg the appetite for living was not so eager, from the continual example of the Struldbrugs before their eyes.

That the system of living contrived by me was unreasonable and unjust; because it supposed a perpetuity of youth, health, and vigour, which no man could be so foolish to hope, however extravagant he may be in his wishes *. That the question therefore was not, whether a man would chuse to be always in the prime of youth, attended with prosperity and health; but how he would pass a perpetual life under all the usual disadvantages, which old age brings along with it. For although few men will avow their desires of being immortal upon such hard conditions, yet in the two kingdoms before mentioned, of Balmibarbi and Japan, he observed that every man desired to put off death for some time longer, let it approach ever so late; and he rarely heard of any man who died willingly, except he were incited by the extremity of grief or torture. And he appealed to me, whether, in those countries I had travelled, as well as my own, I had not observed the same general disposition †.

After

* To this it may possibly be objected, That the perpetuity of youth, health, and vigour would be less a prodigy than the perpetuity of life in a body subject to gradual decay, and might therefore be hoped without greater extravagance of folly. But the sentiment here expressed, is that of a being to whom immortality, though not perpetual youth, was familiar; and in whom the wish of perpetual youth only would have been extravagant, because that only appeared from facts to be impossible. *Hawkes.*

† If it be said, That although the folly of desiring life to be prolonged under the disadvantages of old age, is here finely exposed; yet the desire of terrestrial immortality upon terms, on which alone, in the nature of things, it is possible, an exemption from disease, accident and decay, is tacitly allowed: It may be answered, That as we grow old by imperceptible degrees, so for the most part we grow old without repining, and every man is ready to profess himself willing to die, when he shall be overtaken by the decrepitude of age in some future period; yet when every other eye sees that this period is arrived, he is

After this preface he gave me a particular account of the Struldbrugs among them. He said, they commonly acted like mortals, till about thirty years old, after which by degrees they grew melancholly and dejected, encreasing in both till they came to fourscore. This he learned from their own confession; for otherwise, there not being above two or three of that species born in an age, they were too few to form a general observation by. When they came to fourscore years, which is reckoned the extremity of living in this country, they had not only all the follies and infirmities of other old men, but many more, which arose from the dreadful prospect of never dying. They were not only opinionative, peevish, covetous, morose, vain, talkative; but incapable of friendship, and dead to all natural affection, which never descended below their grand-children. Envy and impotent desires are their prevailing passions. But those objects, against which their envy seems principally directed, are the vices of the younger sort, and the deaths of the old. By reflecting on the former they find themselves cut off from all possibility of pleasure; and whenever they see a funeral, they lament and repine that others are gone to an harbour of rest, to which they themselves never can hope to arrive. They have no remembrance of any thing, but what they learned and observed in their youth and middle age, and even that is very imperfect. And for the truth or particulars of any fact it is safer to depend on common tradition, than upon their best recollections. The least miserable among them appear to be those, who turn to dotage, and entirely lose their memories; these meet with more pity and assistance, because they want many bad qualities, which abound in others.

If a Struldbrug happen to marry one of his own kind, the marriage is dissolved of course by the courtesy of the kingdom, as soon as the younger of the two comes to be fourscore. For the law thinks it a reasonable indulgence,

still tenacious of life, and murmurs at the condition upon which he received his existence. To reconcile old age therefore to the thoughts of a dissolution, appears to be all that was necessary in a moral writer for practical purposes. *Hawkes.*

that

that those, who are condemned without any fault of their own to a perpetual continuance in the world, should not have their misery doubled by the load of a wife.

As soon as they have compleated the term of eighty years, they are looked on as dead in law; their heirs immediately succeed to their estates, only a small pittance is reserved for their support; and the poor ones are maintained at the publick charge. After that period they are held incapable of any employment of trust or profit; they cannot purchase lands or take leases; neither are they allowed to be witnesses in any cause, either civil or criminal, not even for the decision of meers and bounds.

At ninety they lose their teeth and hair; they have at that age no distinction of taste, but eat and drink whatever they can get without relish or appetite. The diseases they were subject to still continue, without encreasing or diminishing. In talking they forget the common appellation of things, and the names of persons, even of those who are their nearest friends and relations. For the same reason they never can amuse themselves with reading, because their memory will not serve to carry them from the beginning of a sentence to the end; and by this defect they are deprived of the only entertainment, whereof they might otherwise be capable.

The language of this country being always upon the flux, the Struldbrugs of one age do not understand those of another; neither are they able after two hundred years to hold any conversation (farther than by a few general words) with their neighbours, the mortals; and thus they lie under the disadvantage of living like foreigners in their own country.

This was the account given me of the Struldbrugs, as near as I can remember. I afterwards saw five or six of different ages, the youngest not above two hundred years old, who were brought to me at several times by some of my friends; but although they were told, that I was a great traveller, and had seen all the world, they had not the least curiosity to ask me a question; only desired I would give them *sumskudask*, or a token of remembrance; which is a modest way of begging, to avoid the law, that strictly forbids it, because they are provided
for

for by the public, although indeed with a very scanty allowance.

They are despised and hated by all sorts of people; when one of them is born, it is reckoned ominous, and their birth is recorded very particularly; so that you may know their age by consulting the register; which however hath not been kept above a thousand years past, or at least hath been destroyed by time or public disturbances. But the usual way of computing how old they are, is, by asking them what kings or great persons they can remember, and then consulting history; for infallibly the last prince in their mind did not begin his reign after they were fourscore years old.

They were the most mortifying sight I ever beheld; and the women more horrible than men. Besides the usual deformities in extreme old age, they acquired an additional ghastliness in proportion to their number of years, which is not to be described; and among half a dozen, I soon distinguished which was the eldest, although there was not above a century or two between them.

The reader will easily believe, that from what I had heard and seen, my keen appetite for perpetuity of life was much abated. I grew heartily ashamed of the pleasing visions I had formed; and thought no tyrant could invent a death, into which I would not run with pleasure from such a life. The king heard of all that had passed between me and my friends upon this occasion, and rallied me very pleasantly; wishing I could send a couple of Struldbrugs to my own country to arm our people against the fear of death*, but this it seems is forbidden by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, or else I should have been well content with the trouble and expence of transporting them.

I could not but agree, that the laws of this kingdom relating to the Struldbrugs were founded upon the strong-

* Perhaps it may not be wholly useless to remark, that the sight of a Struldbrug would no otherwise arm those against the fear of death, who have no hope beyond it, than a man is armed against the fear of breaking his limbs, who jumps out of a window when his house is on fire. *Hawkes.*

est reasons, and such as any other country would be under the necessity of enacting in the like circumstances. Otherwise, as avarice is the necessary consequent of old age, those immortals would in time become proprietors of the whole nation, and engross the civil power ; which, for want of abilities to manage, must end in the ruin of the public.

CHAP. XI.

The author leaves Luggnagg, and sails to Japan. From thence he returns in a Dutch ship to Amsterdam, and from Amsterdam to England.

I Thought this account of the Struldbrugs might be some entertainment to the reader, because it seems to be a little out of the common way ; at least I do not remember to have met the like in any book of travels, that hath come to my hands : and if I am deceived, my excuse must be, that it is necessary * for travellers, who describe the same country, very often to agree in dwelling on the same particulars, without deserving the censure of having borrowed or transcribed from those who wrote before them.

There is indeed a perpetual commerce between this kingdom and the great empire of Japan ; and it is very probable, that the Japanese authors may have given some account of the Struldbrugs ; but my stay in Japan was so short, and I was so intirely a stranger to the language, that I was not qualified to make any enquiries. But I hope the Dutch upon this notice will be curious and able enough to supply my defects.

His Majesty having often pressed me to accept some

* The word *necessary* is here used in the same manner, as when by the idiom of our language it means *convenient*, though it is to be understood in its proper and original signification.

“ Travellers who describe the same country, very often necessarily agree in dwelling on the same particulars, and therefore do not deserve the censure of having borrowed, etc.”

Hawkes.

employment in his court, and finding me absolutely determined to return to my native country, was pleased to give me his licence to depart, and honoured me with a letter of recommendation under his own hand to the Emperor of Japan. He likewise presented me with four hundred forty-four large pieces of gold (this nation delighting in even numbers) and a red diamond, which I sold in England for eleven hundred pounds.

On the 6th day of May, 1709, I took a solemn leave of his Majesty and all my friends. This prince was so gracious, as to order a guard to conduct me to Glanguenstald, which is a royal port to the *south-west* part of the island. In six days I found a vessel ready to carry me to Japan, and spent fifteen days in the voyage. We landed at a small port-town called Xamoschi, situated on the *south-east* part of Japan; the town lies on the *western* point, where there is a narrow streight leading *northward* into a long arm of the sea, upon the *north-west* part of which, Yedo the metropolis stands. At landing I shewed the custom-house officers my letter from the King of Luggnagg to his Imperial Majesty: They knew the seal perfectly well; it was as broad as the palm of my hand. The impression was *A King lifting up a lame beggar from the earth*. The magistrates of the town, hearing of my letter, received me as a public minister; they provided me with carriages and servants, and bore my charges to Yedo, where I was admitted to an audience, and delivered my letter, which was opened with great ceremony, and explained to the Emperor by an interpreter, who then gave me notice by his Majesty's order, that I should signify my request, and whatever it were, it should be granted for the sake of his royal brother of Luggnagg. This interpreter was a person employed to transact affairs with the *Hollanders*; he soon conjectured by my countenance, that I was an European, and therefore repeated his Majesty's commands in *Low-dutch*, which he spoke perfectly well. I answered (as I had before determined) that I was a Dutch merchant shipwrecked in a very remote country, from whence I had travelled by sea and land to Luggnagg, and then took shipping for Japan, where I knew my countrymen often traded, and with some of these I hoped to get an opportunity of returning into Europe:

rope: I therefore most humbly entreated his royal favour to give order, that I should be conducted in safety to Nangasac: to this I added another petition, that for the sake of my patron the King of Luggnagg, his Majesty would condescend to excuse my performing the ceremony imposed on my countrymen, of *trampling upon the crucifix*: because I had been thrown into his kingdom by my misfortunes, without any intention of trading. When this latter petition was interpreted to the Emperor, he seemed a little surprised; and said, he believed I was the first of my countrymen, who ever made any scruple in this point; and that he began to doubt, whether I was a real Hollander, or no; but rather suspected I must be a Christian. However, for the reasons I had offered, but chiefly to gratify the King of Luggnagg, by an uncommon mark of his favour, he would comply with the *singularity* of my humour; but the affair must be managed with dexterity, and his officers should be commanded to let me pass as it were by forgetfulness. For he assured me, that if the secret should be discovered by my countrymen the Dutch, they would cut my throat in the voyage. I returned my thanks by the interpreter for so unusual a favour; and some troops being at that time on their march to Nangasac, the commanding officer had orders to convey me safe thither, with particular instructions about the business of the *crucifix*.

On the 9th day of June, 1709, I arrived at Nangasac after a very long and troublesome journey. I soon fell into company of some Dutch sailors belonging to the Amboyna of Amsterdam, a stout ship of 450 tons. I had lived long in Holland, pursuing my studies at Leyden, and I spoke Dutch well. The seamen soon knew from whence I came last; they were curious to enquire into my voyages, and course of life. I made up a story as short and probable as I could, but concealed the greatest part. I knew many persons in Holland; I was able to invent names for my parents, whom I pretended to be obscure people in the province of Guelderland. I would have given the captain (one Theodorus Vangrult) what he pleased to ask for my voyage to Holland; but understanding I was a surgeon, he was contented to take half the usual rate, on condition that I would serve him in the way

way of my calling. Before we took shipping, I was often asked by some of the crew, whether I had performed the ceremony above mentioned? I evaded the question by general answers, that I had satisfied the Emperor and court in all particulars. However, a malicious rogue of a skipper went to an officer, and pointing to me, told him, I had not yet *trampled on the crucifix*: but the other, who had received instructions to let me pass, gave the rascal twenty strokes on the shoulders with a bamboo; after which I was no more troubled with such questions.

Nothing happened worth mentioning in this voyage. We sailed with a fair wind to the Cape of Good Hope, where we staid only to take in fresh water. On the 10th of April 1710, we arrived safe at Amsterdam, having lost only three men by sickness in the voyage, and a fourth who fell from the fore-mast into the sea, not far from the coast of Guiney. From Amsterdam I soon after set sail for England in a small vessel belonging to that city.

On the 16th of April we put in at the Downs. I landed next morning, and saw once more my native country, after an absence of five years and six months compleat. I went strait to Redriff, where I arrived the same day, at two in the afternoon, and found my wife and family in good health.

TRAVELS into several REMOTE NATIONS of the World.

PART IV.

A VOYAGE to the Country of the HOUGHNHNMS.

CHAP. I.

The author sets out as captain of a ship. His men conspire against him, confine him a long time to his cabin. Set him on shore in an unknown land. He travels up into the country. The Yahoos, a strange sort of animal, described. The author meets two Houghnhnms.

I Continued at home with my wife and children about five months in a very happy condition, if I could have learned the lesson of knowing when I was well. I left my poor wife big with child, and accepted an advantageous

* In this last part of his imaginary travels, Swift has indulged a misanthropy that is intolerable. The representation which he has given us of human nature, must terrify, and even debase the mind of the reader who views it. His sallies of wit and humour lose all their force, nothing remaining but a melancholy and disagreeable impression: we are disgusted, not entertained; we are shocked, not instructed by the fable. I should therefore chuse to take no notice of his YAHOOs, did I not think it necessary to assert the vindication of human nature, and thereby, in some measure, to pay my duty to the great Author of our species, who has created us in a very fearful, and a very wonderful manner.

ous offer made me to be captain of the Adventure, a stout merchant-man of 350 tons: for I understood navigation well, and being grown weary of a surgeon's employment at

We are composed of a mind, and of a body, intimately united, and mutually affecting each other. Their operations indeed are entirely different. Whether the immortal spirit, that enlivens this fine machine, is originally of a superior nature in various bodies (which, I own, seems most consistent, and agreeable to the scale and order of beings), or whether the difference depends on a symmetry, or peculiar structure of the organs combined with it, is beyond my reach to determine. It is evidently certain, that the body is curiously formed with proper organs to delight, and such as are adapted to all the necessary uses of life. The spirit animates the whole; it guides the natural appetites, and confines them within just limits. But the natural force of this spirit is often immersed in matter; and the mind becomes subservient to passions, which it ought to govern and direct. Horace, although of the Epicurean doctrine, acknowledges this truth, where he says,

Atque affigit humo divinae particulam auræ.

It is no less evident, that this immortal spirit has an independent power of acting, and, when cultivated in a proper manner, seemingly quits the corporeal frame within which it is imprisoned, and soars into higher and more spacious regions; where, with an energy, which I had almost said was divine, it ranges among those heavenly bodies, that, in this lower world, are scarce visible to our eyes; and we can at once explain the distance, magnitude, and velocity of the planets, and can foretel, even to a degree of minuteness, the particular time when a comet will return, and when the sun will be eclipsed in the next century. These powers certainly evince the dignity of human nature, and the surprising effects of the immaterial spirit within us; which, in so confined a state, can thus disengage itself from the fetters of matter. It is from this pre-eminence of the soul over the body, that we are enabled to view the exact order and curious variety of different beings; to consider and cultivate the natural productions of the earth; and to admire and intimate the wise benevolence which reigns throughout the whole

at sea, which however I could exercise upon occasion, I took a skilful young man of that calling, one Robert Purefoy, into my ship. We set sail from Portsmouth upon

whole system of the universe. It is from hence, that we form moral laws for our conduct. From hence we delight in copying that great original, who in his essence is utterly incomprehensible, but in his influence is powerfully apparent to every degree of his creation. From hence too we perceive a real beauty in virtue, and a distinction between good and evil. Virtue acts with the utmost generosity, and with no view to her own advantage; while vice, like a glutton, feeds herself enormously, and then is willing to disgorge the nauseous offals of her feast. But I shall wander too far, especially as I flatter myself, that your mind is so good, and so unprejudiced, that you will more easily feel than I can illustrate the truth of these assertions.

Swift deduces his observations from wrong principles: for, in his land of Houyhnhnms, he considers the soul and body in their most degenerate and uncultivated state; the former as a slave to the appetites of the latter. He seems insensible of the surprising mechanism and beauty of every part of the human composition. He forgets the fine description which Ovid gives of mankind:

Os homini sublime dedit, coelumque tueri

Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.

In painting YAHOOs he becomes one himself. Nor is the picture which he draws of the Houyhnhnms, inviting or amusing. It wants both light and shade to adorn it. It is cold and insipid. We there view the pure instincts of brutes, unassisted by any knowledge of letters, acting within their own narrow sphere, merely for their immediate preservation. They are incapable of doing wrong, therefore they act right. It is surely a very low character given to creatures, in whom the author would insinuate some degree of reason, that they act inoffensively, when they have neither the motive nor the power to act otherwise. Their virtuous qualities are only negatives. Swift himself, amidst all his irony, must have confessed, that to moderate our passions, to extend our munificence to others, to enlarge our understanding, and to raise our idea of the Almighty by contemplating his works, is

on the 7th day of September, 1710; on the 14th, we met with captain Pocock of Bristol, at Teneriff, who was going to the bay of Campeachy to cut logwood. On the 16th

not only the business, but often the practice, and the study of the human mind. It is too certain, that no individual has ever possessed every qualification and excellence. However, such an assemblage of different virtues may still be collected from different persons, as are sufficient to place the dignity of human nature in an amiable and exalted station. We must lament indeed the many instances of those who degenerate or go astray from the end and intention of their being. The true source of this depravity is often owing to the want of education, to the false indulgence of parents, or to some other bad causes, which are constantly prevalent in every nation. Many of these errors are finely ridiculed in the foregoing parts of this romance: but the voyage to the Houyhnhnms is a real insult upon mankind.

I am heartily tired of the last part of Gulliver's travels; and am glad, that, having exhausted all my observations on this disagreeable subject, I may finish my letter; especially as the conclusion of it naturally turns my thoughts from YAHOOs, to one of the dearest pledges I have upon earth, yourself, *etc. Orrery*:

Some others, besides Lord Orrery, have thought proper to censure Gulliver's voyage to the Houyhnhnms. But whether indeed their animadversions proceeded from the infirmity of their judgment, or from some Yahoo depravity in their own nature, I shall not vouchsafe to inquire; as the daily occurrences of this wretched world prove, illustrate, and confirm all the sarcasms of the doctor. Shall we praise that excellent moralist, the humorous Hogarth, for exposing midnight revels, debaucheries, and a thousand other vices and follies of human kind, in a series of hieroglyphics, suited to the improvement and the correction of the wild, the gay, the frolic, and the extravagant? And shall we condemn a preacher of righteousness, for exposing, under the character of a nasty unteachable Yahoo, the deformity, the blackness, the filthiness, and corruption of those hellish, abominable vices, which inflame the wrath of God against the children of disobedience; and subject them without repentance, that is, without a thorough change of life and prac-

tice?

16th, he was parted from us in a storm ; I heard, since my return, that his ship foundered, and none escaped, but one cabbin-boy. He was an honest man, and a good sailor,

pice, to everlasting perdition? Ought a preacher of righteousness, ought a watchman of the Christian faith (who is accountable for his talents, and obliged to warn the innocent, as well as terrify the wicked and profane), to hold his peace, like a dumb dog, that cannot bark, when avarice, fraud, cheating, violence, rapine, extortion, cruelty, oppression, tyranny, rancour, envy, malice, detraction, hatred, revenge, murder, whoredom, adultery, lasciviousness, bribery, corruption, pimping, lying, perjury, subornation, treachery, ingratitude, gaming, flattery, drunkenness, gluttony, luxury, vanity, effeminacy, cowardice, pride, impudence, hypocrisy, infidelity, blasphemy, idolatry, Sodomy, and innumerable other vices, are as epidemical as the pox, and many of them the notorious characteristics of the bulk of human kind? I would ask those mighty softeners, these kind pretenders to benevolence, these hollow charity-mongers, what is their real opinion of that *old-serpent*, which, like a roaring lion, traverseth the globe, seeking whom he may devour? Was he not created by the Almighty, pure, faultless, intelligent? But is there now, throughout the whole system of created existence, any *beast*, any *Tahoo*, any *tyrant*, so vile, so base, so corrupted? And whence originally proceeded the change? Was it not from the abuse of that freedom, without which no created *intelligence* can be reputed faithful, wise, brave, or virtuous; in the eyes of his Creator? And surely, if this once great, once glorious, spirit hath been seduced for many thousand of ages, for ought we know to the contrary, below all the several gradations of created beings, whether intelligent, animal or insensible; and exposed to the fury of that avenging, though merciful, God, who is the fountain of all wisdom, goodness, and virtue; are we not to conclude, by an exact parity of reason, that every moral agent is equally accountable to God for that degree of intelligence and perfection, which determines the nature of his existence? And upon this very principle, which cannot be denied without running into the last of absurdities, and which in fact is the reasoning of St. Peter throughout his whole 2d chapter of his 2d epistle, that creature man, that glorious creature man, is deservedly more contemptible than a brute beast, when he flies in the face of his Creator

sailor, but a little too positive in his own opinions, which was the cause of his destruction, as it hath been of several others. For if he had followed my advice, he might have been safe at home with his family at this time, as well as myself.

I had several men died in my ship of calentures, so that I was forced to get recruits out of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, where I touched by the direction of the merchants who employed me; which I had soon too much cause to repent; for I found afterwards, that most of them had been Bucaneers*. I had fifty hands on board, and my orders were, that I should trade with the Indians in the South-sea, and make what discoveries I could. These rogues, whom I had picked up, debauched my other men, and they all formed a conspiracy to seize the ship, and secure me; which they did one morning, rushing into my cabin, and binding me hand and foot, threatening to throw me over-board if I offered to stir. I told them, I was their prisoner, and would submit. This they made me swear to do, and then they unbound me, only fastening one of my legs with a chain near my bed, and placed a centry at my door with his piece charged, who was commended to shoot me dead,

tor, by insisting under the banner of the enemy; and perverts that reason which was designed to have been the glory of his nature, even the directing spirit of his life and demeanour, to the vilest, the most execrable, the most hellish purposes. And this manifestly appears to be the ground-work of the whole satire contained in the voyage to the Houyhnhnms. [Then the author inserts several passages from the holy scriptures, and the Apocrypha, which, he says, will fully justify all the sarcasms of the doctor. But these we omit, as improper in a political romance.]

And to conclude: if the brutality and filthiness of the *Yahoos* be represented by the satiric genius of Dr. Swift, in colours the most shocking and detestable, as they certainly are, and as, in fact, they ought to have been, the picture is the more striking, as well as the more terrible; and, upon that account, more likely to enforce the obligation of religion and virtue upon the souls of men. *Swift.*

* Certain pyrates, that infested the West Indies, were so called. *Hawkes.*

if

if I attempted my liberty. They sent me down victuals and drink, and took the government of the ship to themselves. Their design was to turn pyrates, and plunder the Spaniards, which they could not do, till they got more men. But first they resolved to sell the goods in the ship, and then go to Madagascar for recruits, several among them having died since my confinement. They sailed many weeks, and traded with the Indians; but I knew not what course they took, being kept a close prisoner in my cabin, and expecting nothing less than to be murdered, as they often threatened me.

Upon the 9th day of May 1711, one James Welch came down to my cabin, and said, he had orders from the captain to set me ashore. I expostulated with him, but in vain; neither would he so much as tell me, who their new captain was. They forced me into the long-boat, letting me put on my best suit of cloaths, which were as good as new, and take a small bundle of linen, but no arms, except my hanger; and they were so civil as not to search my pockets, into which I conveyed what money I had, with some other little necessaries. They rowed about a league; and then set me down on a strand. I desired them to tell me what country it was. They all swore, they knew no more than myself, but said, that the captain (as they called him) was resolved, after they had sold the lading, to get rid of me in the first place where they could discover land. They pushed off immediately, advising me to make haste, for fear of being overtaken with the tide; and so bid me farewell.

In this desolate condition I advanced forward, and soon got upon firm ground, where I sat down on a bank to rest myself, and consider what I had best do. When I was a little refreshed, I went up into the country, resolving to deliver myself to the first savages I should meet, and purchase my life from them, by some bracelets, glass-rings, and other toys, which sailors usually provide themselves with in those voyages, and whereof I had some about me. The land was divided by long rows of trees, not regularly planted, but naturally growing; there was great plenty of grass, and several fields of oats. I walked very circumspectly for fear of being surprised, or suddenly shot with an arrow from behind, or on either side.

I fell

I fell into a beaten road, where I saw many tracks of human feet, and some of cows, but most of horses. At last I beheld several animals in a field, and one or two of the same kind sitting in trees. Their shape was very singular and deformed; which a little discomposed me, so that I lay down behind a thicket to observe them better. Some of them coming forward near the place where I lay, gave me an opportunity of distinctly marking their form. Their heads and breasts were covered with a thick hair, some frizzled, and others lank; they had beards like goats, and a long ridge of hair down their backs, and the fore-parts of their legs and feet; but the rest of their bodies were bare, so that I might see their skins, which were of a brown buff-colour. They had no tails, nor any hair at all on their buttocks, except about the *anus*; which, I presume, nature had placed there to defend them, as they sat on the ground; for this posture they used, as well as lying down, and often stood on their hind-feet. They climbed high trees as nimbly as a squirrel; for they had strong extended claws before and behind, terminating in sharp points, and hooked. They would often spring, and bound, and leap with prodigious agility. The females were not so large as the males; they had long lank hair on their heads, but none on their faces, nor any thing more than a sort of down on the rest of their bodies, except about the *anus* and *pudenda*. Their dugs hung between their fore-feet, and often reached almost to the ground as they walked. The hair of both sexes was of several colours, brown, red, black, and yellow. Upon the whole, I never beheld in all my travels so disagreeable an animal, or one against which I naturally conceived so strong an antipathy. So that thinking I had seen enough, full of contempt and aversion, I got up, and pursued the beaten road, hoping it might direct me to the cabin of some Indian. I had not got far, when I met one of these creatures full in my way, and coming up directly to me. The ugly monster, when he saw me, distorted several ways every feature of his visage, and stared as at an object he had never seen before; then approaching nearer, lifted up his fore-paw, whether out of curiosity or mischief, I could not tell: but I drew my hanger, and gave him a good blow with the flat side of

of it; for I durst not strike with the edge, fearing the inhabitants might be provoked against me, if they should come to know, that I had killed or maimed any of their cattle. When the beast felt the smart, he drew back, and roared so loud, that a herd of at least forty came flocking about me from the next field, howling and making odious faces; but I ran to the body of a tree, and leaning my back against it, kept them off by waving my hanger. Several of this cursed brood getting hold of the branches behind, leapt up into the tree, from whence they began to discharge their excrements on my head: however, I escaped pretty well by sticking close to the stem of the tree, but was almost stifled with the filth, which fell about me on every side.

In the midst of this distress, I observed them all to run away on a sudden as fast as they could, at which I ventured to leave the tree, and pursue the road, wondering what it was that could put them into this fright. But looking on my left hand, I saw a horse walking softly in the field; which my persecutors having sooner discovered, was the cause of their flight. The horse started a little when he came near me, but soon recovering himself, looked full in my face with manifest tokens of wonder: he viewed my hands and feet, walking round me several times. I would have pursued my journey, but he placed himself directly in the way, yet looking with a very mild aspect, never offering the least violence. We stood gazing at each other for some time; at last I took the boldness to reach my hand towards his neck with a design to stroak it, using the common style and whistle of jockies, when they are going to handle a strange horse. But this animal seemed to receive my civilities with disdain, shook his head, and bent his brows, softly raising up his right fore-foot to remove my hand. Then he neighed three or four times, but in so different a cadence, that I almost began to think he was speaking to himself in some language of his own.

While he and I were thus employed, another horse came up; who applying himself to the first in a very formal manner, they gently struck each other's right-hoof before, neighing several times by turns, and varying the sound, which seemed to be almost articulate. They went

went some paces off, as if it were to confer together, walking side by side, backwark and forward, like persons deliberating upon some affair of weight, but often turning their eyes towards me, as it were to watch that I might not escape. I was amazed to see such actions and behaviour in brute beasts; and concluded with myself, that if the inhabitants of this country were endued with a proportionable degree of reason, they must needs be the wisest people upon earth. This thought gave me so much comfort, that I resolved to go forward, until I could discover some house or village, or meet with any of the natives, leaving the two horses to discourse together as they pleased. But the first, who was a dapple-grey, observing me to steal off, neighed after me in so expressive a tone, that I fancied myself to understand what he meant; whereupon I turned back, and came near him to expect his farther commands, but concealing my fear as much as I could; for I began to be in some pain, how this adventure might terminate; and the reader will easily believe, I did not much like my present situation.

The two horses came up close to me, looking with great earnestness upon my face and hands. The grey steed rubbed my hat all round with his right fore-hoof, and discomposed it so much, that I was forced to adjust it better, by taking it off and settling it again; whereat both he and his companion (who was brown-bay) appeared to be much surprised; the latter felt the lappet of my coat, and finding it to hang loose about me, they both looked with new signs of wonder. He stroaked my right hand, seeming to admire the softness and colour; but he squeezed it so hard between his hoof and his pastern, that I was forced to roar; after which they both touched me with all possible tenderness. They were under great perplexity about my shoes and stockings, which they felt very often, neighing to each other, and using various gestures, not unlike those of a philosopher, when he would attempt to solve some new and difficult phenomenon.

Upon the whole, the behaviour of these animals was so orderly and rational, so acute and judicious, that I at last concluded, they must needs be magicians, who had thus

thus metamorphos'd themselves upon some design, and, seeing a stranger in the way, resolv'd to divert themselves with him; or perhaps were really amaz'd at the sight of a man so very different in habit, feature, and complexion, from those who might probably live in so remote a climate. Upon the strength of this reasoning, I ventured to address them in the following manner: gentlemen, if you be conjurers, as I have good cause to believe, you can understand any language; therefore I make bold to let your worships know, that I am a poor distressed English-man, driven by his misfortunes upon your coast, and I intreat one of you to let me ride upon his back, as if he were a real horse, to some house or village, where I can be relieved. In return of which favour I will make you a present of this knife and bracelet (taking them out of my pocket). The two creatures stood silent while I spoke, seeming to listen with great attention; and when I had ended, they neigh'd frequently towards each other, as if they were engaged in serious conversation. I plainly observ'd, that their language express'd the passions very well, and the words might with little pains be resolv'd into an alphabet more easily than the Chinese.

I could frequently distinguish the word *yahoo*, which was repeated by each of them several times; and although it was impossible for me to conjecture what it meant, yet, while the two horses were busy in conversation, I endeavour'd to practise this word upon my tongue; and as soon as they were silent, I boldly pronounced *yahoo* in a loud voice, imitating at the same time, as near as I could, the neighing of a horse; at which they were both visibly surpris'd, and the grey repeated the same word twice, as if he meant to teach me the right accent, wherein I spoke after him as well as I could, and found myself perceivably to improve every time, though very far from any degree of perfection. Then the bay tried me with a second word much harder to be pronounced; but, reducing it to the English orthography, may be spelt thus, Houyhnhnm. I did not succeed in this so well as the former; but after two or three farther trials, I had better fortune; and they both appear'd amaz'd at my capacity.

After some farther discourse, which I then conjectur-

ed

ed might relate to me, the two friends took their leaves with the same compliment of striking each other's hoof; and the grey made me signs that I should walk before him; wherein I thought it prudent to comply, till I could find a better director. When I offered to slacken my pace, he would cry *hhuun, hhuun*; I guessed his meaning, and gave him to understand, as well as I could, that I was weary, and not able to walk faster; upon which he would stand a while to let me rest.

C H A P. II.

The author conducted by a Houyhnhnm to his house. The house described. The author's reception. The food of the Houyhnhnms. The author in distress for want of meat, is at last relieved. His manner of feeding in that country.

HAVING travelled about three miles, we came to a long kind of building, made of timber stuck in the ground, and wattled a-crois; the roof was low, and covered with straw. I now began to be a little comforted; and took out some toys, which travellers usually carry for presents to the savage Indians of America and other parts, in hopes the people of the house would be thereby encouraged to receive me kindly. The horse made me a sign to go in first; it was a large room with a smooth clay floor, and a rack and manger, extending the whole length on one side. There were three nags, and two mares, not eating, but some of them sitting down upon their hams, which I very much wondered at; but wondered more to see the rest employed in domestic business; these seemed but ordinary cattle: however this confirmed my first opinion, that a people, who could so far civilize brute animals, must needs excel in wisdom all the nations of the world. The grey came in just after, and thereby prevented any ill treatment which the others might have given me. He neighed to them several times in a stile of authority, and received answers.

Beyond this room there were three others reaching the length of the house, to which you passed through three doors,

doors, opposite to each other, in the manner of a vista; we went through the second room towards the third; here the grey walked in first, beckoning me to attend: I waited in the second room, and got ready my presents for the master and mistress of the house: they were two knives, three bracelets of false pearl, a small looking-glass, and a bead-necklace. The horse neighed three or four times, and I waited to hear some answers in a human voice, but I heard no other returns than in the same dialect, only one or two a little shriller than his. I began to think, that this house must belong to some person of great note among them, because there appeared so much ceremony before I could gain admittance. But, that a man of quality should be served all by horses, was beyond my comprehension. I feared my brain was disturbed by my sufferings and misfortunes: I roused myself, and looked about me in the room, where I was left alone; this was furnished like the first, only after a more elegant manner. I rubbed my eyes often, but the same objects still occurred. I pinched my arms and sides to awake myself, hoping I might be in a dream. I then absolutely concluded, that all these appearances could be nothing else but necromancy and magic. But I had no time to pursue these reflections; for the grey horse came to the door, and made me a sign to follow him into the third room; where I saw a very comely mare, together with a colt and foal, sitting on their haunches upon mats of straw, not unartfully made and perfectly neat and clean.

The mare soon after my entrance rose from her matt, and coming up close, after having nicely observed my hands and face, gave me a most contemptuous look; then turning to the horse, I heard the word *yahoo* often repeated betwixt them; the meaning of which word I could not then comprehend, although it was the first I had learned to pronounce; but I was soon better informed to my everlasting mortification: for the horse beckoning to me with his head, and repeating the word *hhuun, hhuun*, as he did upon the road, which I understood was to attend him, led me out into a kind of court, where was another building at some distance from the house. Here we entered, and I saw three of those detestable creatures, which I first met after my landing, feeding upon roots

and the flesh of some animals, which I afterwards found to be that of asses and dogs, and now and then a cow dead by accident or disease. They were all tied by the neck with strong wyths fastened to a beam; they held their food between the claws of their fore-feet, and tore it with their teeth.

The master horse ordered a sorrel nag, one of his servants, to untie the largest of these animals, and take him into the yard. The beast and I were brought close together; and our countenances diligently compared both by master and servant, who thereupon repeated several times the word *yahoo*. My horror and astonishment are not to be described, when I observed in this abominable animal a perfect human figure: the face of it indeed was flat and broad, the nose depressed, the lips large, and the mouth wide: but these differences are common to all savage nations, where the lineaments of the countenance are distorted by the natives suffering their infants to lie grovelling on the earth, or by carrying them on their backs nuzzling with their face against the mother's shoulders. The fore-feet of the *yahoo* differed from my hands in nothing else, but the length of the nails, the coarseness and brownness of the palms, and the hairiness on the backs. There was the same resemblance between our feet, with the same differences, which I knew very well, though the horses did not, because of my shoes and stockings; the same in every part of our bodies, except as to hairiness and colour, which I have already described.

The great difficulty, that seemed to stick with the two horses, was, to see the rest of my body so very different from that of a *yahoo*, for which I was obliged to my cloaths, whereof they had no conception. The sorrel nag offered me a root, which he held (after their manner, as we shall describe in its proper place) between his hoof and pastern: I took it in my hand, and having smelt it returned it to him again as civilly as I could. He brought out of the *yahoo*'s kennel a piece of ass's flesh, but it smelt so offensively, that I returned from it with loathing; he then threw it to the *yahoo*, by whom it was greedily devoured *. He afterwards shewed me a whisp

Whoever is disgusted with this picture of a *Tahoo*, would do

of hay and a fetlock full of oats; but I shook my head to signify, that neither of these were food for me. And indeed I now apprehended, that I must absolutely starve, if I did not get to some of my own species; for as to those filthy *yahoos*, although there were few greater lovers of mankind at that time, than myself; yet I confess, I never saw any sensitive being so detestable on all accounts; and the more I came near them, the more hateful they grew, while I stayed in that country. This the master-horse observed by my behaviour, and therefore sent the *yahoo* back to his kennel. He then put his fore-hoof to his mouth, at which I was much surpris'd, although he did with ease, and with a motion that appeared perfectly natural; and made other signs to know what I would eat; but I could not return him such an answer as he was able to apprehend; and if he had understood me, I did not see how it was possible to contrive any way for finding myself nourishment. While we were thus engaged, I observed a cow passing by; whereupon I pointed to her, and expressed a desire to go and milk her. This had its effect; for he led me back into the house, and ordered a mare-servant to open a room, where a good store of milk lay in earthen and wooden vessels after a very orderly and cleanly manner. She gave me a large bowl-full, of which I drank very heartily, and found myself well refreshed.

About noon I saw coming towards the house a kind of vehicle drawn like a sledge by four *yahoos*. There was in it an old steed, who seemed to be quality; he alighted with his hind-feet forward, having by accident got a hurt in his left fore-foot. He came to dine with our horse, who received him with great civility. They dined in the best room, and had oats boiled in milk for the second course, which the old horse eat warm, but the rest cold. Their mangers were placed circular in the middle of the room, and divided into several partiti-

do well to reflect, that it becomes his own in exact proportion as he deviates from virtue, for virtue is the perfection of reason. The appetites of those abandoned to vice, are not less brutal and sordid than that of a *yahoo* for asses flesh; nor is their life a state of self abject servility. *Hawkes.*

ons, round which they sat on their haunches upon bosses of straw. In the middle was a large rack, with angles answering to every partition of the manger. So that each horse and mare eat their own hay, and their own mash of oats and milk, with much decency and regularity. The behaviour of the young colt and foal appeared very modest; and that of the master and mistress extremely chearful and complaisant to their guest. The grey ordered me to stand by him; and much discourse passed between him and his friend concerning me, as I found by the stranger's often looking at me, and the frequent repetition of the word *yahoo*.

I happened to wear my gloves, which the master grey observing, seemed perplexed, discovering signs of wonder what I had done to my fore-feet; he put his hoof three or four times to them, as if he would signify, that I should reduce them to their former shape, which I presently did, pulling off both my gloves, and putting them into my pocket. This occasioned farther talk, and I saw the company was pleased with my behaviour, whereof I soon found the good effects. I was ordered to speak the few words I understood; and while they were at dinner, the master taught me names for oats, milk, fire, water, and some others; which I could readily pronounce after him, having from my youth a great facility in learning languages.

When dinner was done, the master-horse took me aside, and by signs and words made me understand the concern he was in, that I had nothing to eat. Oats in their tongue are called *hlunnh*. This word I pronounced two or three times; for although I had refused them at first, yet upon second thoughts I considered, that I could contrive to make of them a kind of bread, which might be sufficient with milk to keep me alive, till I could make my escape to some other country, and to creatures of my own species. The horse immediately ordered a white mare-servant of his family to bring me a good quantity of oats in a sort of wooden tray. These I heated before the fire, as well as I could, and rubbed them till the husks came off, which I made a shift to winnow from the grain; I ground and beat them between two stones, then took water, and made them into a paste or cake,

cake, which I toasted at the fire, and eat warm with milk. It was at first a very insipid diet, though common enough in many parts of Europe, but grew tolerable by time; and having been often reduced to hard fare in my life, this was not the first experiment I had made, how easily nature is satisfied. And I cannot but observe, that I never had one hour's sickness while I staid in this island. It is true, I sometimes made a shift to catch a rabbit, or bird, by springes made of *yahoo's* hairs; and I often gathered wholesome herbs, which I boiled or eat as salads with my bread; and now and then, for a rarity, I made a little butter, and drank the whey. I was at first at a great loss for salt; but custom soon reconciled me to the want of it; and I am confident, that the frequent use of salt among us is an effect of luxury, and was first introduced only as a provocative to drink; except where it is necessary for preserving of flesh in long voyages, or in places remote from great markets. For we observe no animal to be fond of it but man: and as to myself, when I left this country, it was a great while before I could endure the taste of it in any thing that I eat.

This is enough to say upon the subject of my diet, wherewith other travellers fill their books, as if the readers were personally concerned, whether we fare well or ill. However it was necessary to mention this matter, lest the world should think it impossible, that I could find sustenance for three years in such a country and among such inhabitants.

When it grew towards evening, the master-horse ordered a place for me to lodge in; it was but six yards from the house, and separated from the stable of the *yahoos*. Here I got some straw, and covering myself with my own cloaths, slept very sound. But I was in a short time better accommodated, as the reader shall know hereafter, when I come to treat more particularly about my way of living.

C H A P. III.

The author studious to learn the language: the Houyhnhnm, his master, assists in teaching him. The language described. Several Houyhnhnms of quality came out of curiosity to see the author. He gives his master a short account of his voyage.

MY principal endeavour was to learn the language, which my master (for so I shall henceforth call him) and his children, and every servant of his house were desirous to teach me. For they looked upon it as a prodigy, that a brute animal should discover such marks of a rational creature. I pointed to every thing, and enquired the name of it, which I wrote down in my *journal-book* when I was alone, and corrected my bad accent by desiring those of the family to pronounce it often. In this employment a sorrel nag, one of the under-servants, was very ready to assist me.

In speaking they pronounce through the nose and throat, and their language approaches nearest to the High-Dutch or German, of any I know in Europe; but is much more graceful and significant. The emperor Charles V. made almost the same observation, when he said, that if he were to speak to his horse, it should be in High-Dutch.

The curiosity and impatience of my master were so great, that he spent many hours of his leisure to instruct me. He was convinced (as he afterwards told me) that I must be a *yahoo*; but my teachableness, civility, and cleanliness, astonished him; which were qualities altogether opposite to those animals. He was most perplexed about my cloaths, reasoning sometimes with himself, whether they were a part of my body; for I never pulled them off till the family were asleep, and got them on before they waked in the morning. My master was eager to learn from whence I came; how I acquired those appearances of reason, which I discovered in all my actions; and to know my story from my own mouth, which he hoped he should soon do by the great proficiency I made

made in learning and pronouncing their words and sentences. To help my memory, I formed all I learned into the English alphabet, and writ the words down with the translations. This last after some time I ventured to do in my master's presence. It cost me much trouble to explain to him what I was doing: for the inhabitants have not the least idea of books or literature.

In about ten weeks time I was able to understand most of his questions; and in three months could give him some tolerable answers. He was extremely curious to know from what part of the country I came, and how I was taught to imitate a rational creature; because the *yahoos* (whom he saw I exactly resembled in my head, hands, and face, that were only visible) with some appearance of cunning, and the strongest disposition to mischief, were observed to be the most unteachable of all brutes. I answered that I came over the sea from a far place, with many others of my own kind, in a great hollow vessel made of the bodies of trees; that my companions forced me to land on this coast, and then left me to shift for myself. It was with some difficulty, and by the help of many signs, that I brought him to understand me. He replied, that I must needs be mistaken, or that I *said the thing which was not* (for they have no word in their language to express lying or falsehood). He knew it was impossible, that there could be a country beyond the sea, or that a parcel of brutes could move a wooden vessel whither they pleased upon water. He was sure no Houyhnhnm alive could make such a vessel, nor would trust *yahoos* to manage it.

The word Houyhnhnm in their tongue signifies a *horse*, and in its etymology, *the perfection of nature*. I told my master that I was at a loss for expression, but would improve as fast as I could; and hoped in a short time I should be able to tell him wonders: he was pleased to direct his own mare, his colt and foal, and the servants of the family, to take all opportunities of instructing me; and every day for two or three hours he was at the same pains himself: several horses and mares of quality in the neighbourhood came often to our house, upon the report spread of a wonderful *yahoo* that could speak like a Houyhnhnm, and seemed in his words and actions to discover

cover some glimmerings of reason. These delighted to converse with me; they put many questions, and received such answers as I was able to return. By all these advantages I made so great a progress, that in five months from my arrival I understood whatever was spoken, and could express myself tolerably well.

The Houyhnhnms who came to visit my master, out of a design of seeing and talking with me, could hardly believe me to be a right *yahoo*, because my body had a different covering from others of my kind. They were astonished to observe me without the usual hair or skin, except on my head, face, and hands; but I discovered that secret to my master upon an accident, which happened about a fortnight before.

I have already told the reader, that every night, when the family were gone to bed, it was my custom to strip, and cover myself with my cloaths: it happened one morning early, that my master sent for me by the sorrel nag, who was his valet; when he came, I was fast asleep, my cloaths had fallen off on one side, and my shirt above my waist. I awaked at the noise he made, and observed him to deliver his message in some disorder; after which he went to my master, and in a great fright gave him a very confused account of what he had seen: this I presently discovered; for going as soon as I was dressed to pay my attendance upon his honour, he asked me the meaning of what his servant had reported; that I was not the same thing when I slept, as I appeared to be at other times; that his valet assured him, some part of me was white, some yellow, at least not so white, and some brown.

I had hitherto concealed the secret of my dress in order to distinguish myself, as much as possible, from that curled race of *yahoos*; but now I found it in vain to do so any longer. Besides I considered, that my cloaths and shoes would soon wear out, which already were in a declining condition, and must be supplied by some contrivance from the hides of *yahoos*, or other brutes; whereby the whole secret would be known: I therefore told my master, that in the country from whence I came, those of my kind always covered their bodies with the hairs of certain animals prepared by art, as well for decency, as

to avoid the inclemencies of air both hot and cold ; of which, as to my own person, I would give him immediate conviction, if he pleased to command me ; only desiring his excuse, if I did not expose those parts that nature taught us conceal. He said my discourse was all very strange, but especially the last part ; for he could not understand, why nature should teach us to conceal what nature had given : that neither himself nor family were ashamed of any parts of their bodies ; but however I might do as I pleased. Whereupon I first unbuttoned my coat, and pulled it off. I did the same with my waistcoat ; I drew off my shoes, stockings, and breeches. I let my shirt down to my waist, and drew up the bottom, fastening it like a girdle about my middle to hide my nakedness.

My master observed the whole performance with great signs of curiosity and admiration. He took up all my cloaths in his pastern, one piece after another, and examined them diligently ; he then stroaked my body very gently, and looked round me several times, after which he said, it was plain I must be a perfect *yahoo* ; but that I differed very much from the rest of my species in the softness, whiteness, and smoothness of my skin, my want of hair in several parts of my body, the shape and shortness of my claws behind and before, and my affectation of walking continually on my two hinder feet. He desired to see no more ; and gave me leave to put on my cloaths again, for I was shuddering with cold.

I expressed my uneasiness at his giving me so often the appellation of *yahoo*, an odious animal, for which I had so utter an hatred and contempt : I begged he would forbear applying that word to me, and take the same order in his family, and among his friends, whom he suffered to see me. I requested likewise, that the secret of my having a false covering to my body might be known to none but himself, at least as long as my present cloathing should last ; for as to what the sorrel nag his valet had observed, his honour might command him to conceal it.

All this my master very graciously consented to, and thus the secret was kept till my cloaths began to wear out, which I was forced to supply by several contrivances, that shall hereafter be mentioned. In the mean time he desired

desired I would go on with my utmost diligence to learn their language, because he was more astonished at my capacity for speech and reason, than at the figure of my body, whether it were covered or no; adding, that he waited with some impatience to hear the wonders, which I promised to tell him,

From thence forward he doubled the pains he had been at to instruct me; he brought me into all company, and made them treat me with civility, because, as he told them privately, this would put me into good humour, and make me more diverting.

Every day, when I waited on him, beside the trouble he was at in teaching, he would ask me several questions concerning myself, which I answered as well as I could; and by these means he had already received some general ideas, though very imperfect. It would be tedious to relate the several steps, by which I advanced to a more regular conversation; but the first account I gave of myself in any order and length was to this purpose.

That I came from a very far country, as I already had attempted to tell him, with about fifty more of my own species; that we travelled upon the seas in a great hollow vessel made of wood, and larger than his honour's house. I described the ship to him in the best terms I could, and explained by the help of my handkerchief displayed, how it was driven forward by the wind. That upon a quarrel among us I was set on shore on this coast, where I walked forward, without knowing whether I should be delivered me from the persecution of those execrable *yahoos*. He asked me, who made the ship, and how it was possible that the Houyhnhnms of my country would leave it to the management of brutes? My answer was, that I durst proceed no farther in my relation, unless he would give me his word and honour that he would not be offended, and then I would tell him the wonders I had so often promised. He agreed; and I went on by assuring him, that the ship was made by creatures like myself, who in all the countries I had travelled, as well as in my own, were the only governing, rational animals; and that upon my arrival hither I was as much astonished to see the Houyhnhnms act like rational beings, as he or his friends could be in finding some marks

of

of reason in a creature he was pleased to call a *yahoo*; to which I owned my resemblance in every part, but could not account for their degenerate and brutal nature. I said further, that if good fortune ever restored me to my native country to relate my travels hither, as I resolved to do, every body would believe, that I *said the thing which was not*; that I invented the story out of my own head; and (with all possible respect to himself, his family, and friends, and under his promise of not being offended) our countrymen would hardly think it probable, that a Houyhnhnm should be the presiding creature of a nation, and a *yahoo* the brute.

C H A P. IV.

The Houyhnhnms notion of truth and falshood. The author's discourse disapproved by his master. The author gives a more particular account of himself, and the accidents of his voyage.

MY master heard me with great appearances of uneasiness in his countenance; because *doubting or not believing*, are so little known in this country, that the inhabitants cannot tell how to behave themselves under such circumstances. And I remember, in frequent discourses with my master concerning the nature of manhood in other parts of the world, having occasion to talk of *lying* and *false representation*, it was with much difficulty that he comprehended what I meant; although he had otherwise a most acute judgment. For he argued thus: that the use of speech was to make us understand one another, and to receive information of facts; now, if any one *said the thing which was not*, these ends were defeated; because I cannot properly be said to understand him; and I am so far from receiving information, that he leaves me worse than in ignorance; for I am led to believe a thing *black* when it is *white*, and *short* when it is *long*. And these were all the notions he had concerning that faculty of *lying*, so perfectly well understood, and so universally practised, among human creatures.

To return from this digression; when I asserted that
the

the *yahoos* were the only governing animals in my country, which, my master said, was altogether past his conception, he desired to know, whether we had Houyhnhnms among us, and what was their employment: I told him, we had great numbers; that in summer they grazed in the fields, and in winter were kept in houses with hay and oats, where *yahoo*-servants were employed to rub their skins smooth, comb their manes, pick their feet, serve them with food, and make their beds. I understand you well, said my master; it is now very plain from all you have spoken, that whatever share of reason the *yahoos* pretend to, the Houyhnhnms are your masters; I heartily wish our *yahoos* would be so tractable. I begged his honour would please to excuse me from proceeding any farther, because I was very certain that the account he expected from me would be highly displeasing. But he insisted in commanding me to let him know the best and the worst: I told him he should be obeyed. I owned, that the Houyhnhnms among us, whom we called *horses*, were the most generous and comely animal we had; that they excelled in strength and swiftness; and when they belonged to persons of quality, were employed in travelling, racing, or drawing chariots, they were treated with much kindness and care, till they fell into diseases, or became foundered in the feet; but then they were sold, and used to all kind of drudgery, till they died; after which their skins were stripped, and sold for what they were worth, and their bodies left to be devoured by dogs and birds of prey. But the common race of horses had not so good fortune, being kept by farmers and carriers and other mean people who put them to great labour, and fed them worse. I described, as well as I could, our way of riding; the shape and use of a bridle, a saddle, a spur, and a whip; of harness and wheels. I added, that we fastened plates of a certain hard substance, called *iron*, at the bottom of their feet, to preserve their hoofs from being broken by the stony ways, on which we often travelled.

My master, after some expressions of great indignation, wondered how we dared to venture upon a Houyhnhnm's back; for he was sure that the weakest servant in his house would be able to shake off the strong-

est *yahoo*; or by lying down, and rolling on his back, squeeze the brute to death. I answered, that our horses were trained up from three or four years old to the several uses we intended them for; that, if any of them proved intolerably vicious, they were employed for carriages; that they were severely beaten, while they were young, for any mischievous tricks; that the males designed for the common use of riding or draught, were generally *castrated* about two years after their birth, to take down their spirits and make them more tame and gentle; that they were indeed sensible of rewards and punishments; but his honour would please to consider, that they had not the least tincture of reason, any more than the *yahoos* in this country.

It put me to the pains of many circumlocutions to give my master a right idea of what I spoke; for their language doth not abound in variety of words, because their wants and passions are fewer than among us. But it is impossible to express his noble resentment at our savage treatment of the Houyhnhnm race; particularly after I had explained the manner and use of *castrating* horses among us, to hinder them from propagating their kind, and to render them more servile. He said, if it were possible there could be any country, where *yahoos* alone were endued with reason, they certainly must be the governing animal, because reason will in time always prevail against brutal strength. But, considering the frame of our bodies, and especially of mine, he thought no creature of equal bulk was so ill contrived for employing that reason in the common offices of life; whereupon, he desired to know, whether those, among whom I lived, resembled me or the *yahoos* of his country. I assured him, that I was as well shaped as most of my age: but the younger, and the females were much more soft and tender, and the skins of the latter generally as white as milk. He said, I differed indeed from other *yahoos*, being much more cleanly, and not altogether so deformed; but in point of real advantage, he thought I differed for the worse. That my nails were of no use either to my fore or hinder-feet: as to my fore-feet, he could not properly call them by that name, for he never observed me to walk upon them; that they were too soft to bear the ground; that I generally

went with them uncovered, neither was the covering I sometimes wore on them, of the same shape, or so strong as that on my feet behind. That I could not walk with any security; for if either of my hinder-feet slipped, I must inevitably fall. He then began to find fault with other parts of my body; the flatness of my face, the prominence of my nose, mine eyes placed directly in front, so that I could not look on either side without turning my head: that I was not able to feed myself without lifting one of my fore-feet to my mouth; and therefore nature had placed those joints to answer that necessity. He knew not what could be the use of those several clefts and divisions in my feet behind; that these were too soft to bear the hardness and sharpness of stones, without a covering made from the skin of some other brute; that my whole body wanted a fence against heat and cold, which I was forced to put on and off every day with tediousness and trouble. And lastly, that he observed every animal in this country naturally to abhor the *yahoos*, whom the weaker avoided, and the stronger drove from them. So that, supposing us to have the gift of reason, he could not see how it were possible to cure that natural antipathy, which every creature discovered against us; nor consequently how we could tame and render them serviceable. However, he would, as he said, debate the matter no farther, because he was more desirous to know my own story, the country where I was born, and the several actions and events of my life before I came hither.

I assured him, how extremely desirous I was, that he should be satisfied in every point; but I doubted much, whether it would be possible for me to explain myself on several subjects, whereof his honour could have no conception; because I saw nothing in his country, to which I could resemble them. That however I would do my best, and strive to express myself by similitudes, humbly desiring his assistance, when I wanted proper words; which he was pleased to promise me.

I said, my birth was of honest parents, in an island called Engiand, which was remote from his country as many days journey, as the strongest of his honour's servants could travel in the annual course of the sun: That I was
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bred a surgeon, whose trade it is to cure wounds and hurts in the body gotten by accident or violence : That my country was governed by a female man, whom we called Queen: That I left it to get riches, whereby I might maintain myself and family when I should return : That in my last voyage I was commander of the ship, and had about fifty *yahoos* under me, many of which died at sea, and I was forced to supply them by others picked out from several nations : That our ship was twice in danger of being sunk ; the first time by a great storm, and the second by striking against a rock. Here my master interposed, by asking me, how I could persuade strangers out of different countries to venture with me, after the losses I had sustained, and the hazards I had run. I said, they were fellows of desperate fortunes, forced to fly from the places of their birth on account of their poverty or their crimes. Some were undone by law-suits ; others spent all they had in drinking, whoring, and gaming ; others fled for treason ; many for murder, theft, poisoning, robbery, perjury, forgery, coining false money, for committing rapes or sodomy ; for flying from their colours, or deserting to the enemy ; and most of them had broken prison ; none of these durst return to their native countries for fear of being hanged, or of starving in a jail ; and therefore they were under a necessity of seeking a livelihood in other places :

During this discourse, my master was pleased to interrupt me several times ; I had made use of many circumlocutions in describing to him the nature of the several crimes, for which most of our crew had been forced to fly their country. This labour took up several days conversation before he was able to comprehend me. He was wholly at a loss to know, what could be the use or necessity of practising those vices. To clear up which, I endeavoured to give him some ideas of the desire of power and riches ; of the terrible effects of lust, intemperance, malice, and envy. All this I was forced to define and describe by putting cases and making suppositions. After which, like one whose imagination was struck with something never seen or heard of before, he would lift up his eyes with amazement and indignation. Power, government, war, law, punishment, and a thousand other things

things had no terms, wherein that language could express them; which made the difficulty almost insuperable to give my master any conception of what I meant. But being of an excellent understanding, much improved by contemplation and converse, he at last arrived at a competent knowledge of what human nature in our parts of the world is capable to perform, and desired I would give him some particular account of that land, which we call Europe, but especially of my own country.

C H A P. V.

The author, at his master's commands, informs him of the state of England. The causes of war among the princes of Europe. The author begins to explain the English constitution.

THE reader may please to observe, that the following extract of many conversations I had with my master, contains a summary of the most material points, which were discoursed on at several times for above two years; his honour often desiring fuller satisfaction, as I farther improved in the Houyhnhnm tongue. I laid before him, as well as I could, the whole state of Europe. I discoursed of trade and manufactures, of arts and sciences; and the answers I gave to all the questions he made, as they arose upon several subjects, were a fund of conversation not to be exhausted. But I shall here only set down the substance of what passed between us concerning my own country, reducing it into order as well as I can, without any regard to time or other circumstances, while I strictly adhere to truth. My only concern is, that I shall hardly be able to do justice to my master's arguments and expressions, which must needs suffer by my want of capacity, as well as by a translation into our barbarous English.

In obedience therefore to his honour's commands, I related to him the *revolution* under the Prince of Orange; the long war with France entered into by the said Prince, and renewed by his successor the present Queen, wherein the greatest powers of Christendom were engaged, and
which

which still continued: I computed, at his request, that about a million of *yahoos* might have been killed in the whole progress of it; and perhaps a hundred or more cities taken, and five times as many ships burnt or sunk.

He asked me, what were the usual causes or motives that made one country go to war with another. I answered they were innumerable; but I should only mention a few of the chief. Sometimes the ambition of princes, who never think they have land or people enough to govern. Sometimes the corruption of ministers, who engage their master in a war, in order to stifle or divert the clamour of the subjects against their evil administration. Difference in opinions hath cost many millions of lives: for instance, whether *flesh* be *bread*, or *bread* be *flesh*; whether the juice of a certain *berry* be *blood* or *wine**; whether *whistling* be a vice or a virtue†; whether it be better to *kiss a post*, or throw it into the fire‡; what is the best colour for a *coat*, whether *black*, *white*, *red*, or *grey*; and whether it should be *long* or *short*, *narrow* or *wide*, *dirty* or *clean*, with many more**. Neither are any wars so furious and bloody, or of so long continuance, as those occasioned by difference in opinion, especially if it be in things indifferent.

Sometimes the quarrel between two princes is to decide, which of them shall dispossess a third of his dominions, where neither of them pretend to any right. Sometimes one prince quarrelleth with another, for fear the other should quarrel with him. Sometimes a war is entered upon because the enemy is too *strong*; and sometimes because he is too *weak*. Sometimes our neighbours *want* the *things* which we *have*, or *have* the things which we *want*; and we both fight, till they take ours, or give us theirs. It is a very justifiable cause of a war, to invade a country after the people have been wasted by famine, destroyed by pestilence, or embroiled by factions among themselves. It is justifiable to enter into a war against our nearest ally, when one of his towns lies convenient for us, or a territory of land, that would render our

* Transubstantiation. † Church-music. ‡ Kissing a cross.

** The colour and make of sacred vestments, and different orders of Popish ecclesiastics. *Hawkes*.

dominions round and compact. If a prince sends forces into a nation, where the people are poor and ignorant, he may lawfully put the half of them to death, and make slaves of the rest, in order to civilize and reduce them from their barbarous way of living. It is a very kingly, honourable, and frequent practice, when one prince desires the assistance of another to secure him against an invasion, that the assistant, when he hath driven out the invader, should seize on the dominions himself, and kill, imprison, or banish the prince he came to relieve. Alliance by blood, or marriage, is a frequent cause of war between princes; and the nearer the kindred is, the greater is their disposition to quarrel: *poor* nations are *hungry*, and *rich* nations are *proud*: and pride and hunger will ever be at variance. For these reasons, the trade of a *soldier* is held the most honourable of all others; because a *soldier* is a *yahoo* hired to kill in cold blood as many of his own species, who have never offended him, as possibly he can.

There is likewise a kind of beggarly princes in Europe, not able to make war by themselves, who hire out their troops to richer nations, for so much a day to each man; of which they keep three-fourths to themselves, and it is the best part of their maintenance; such are those in many northern parts of Europe.

What you have told me (said my master) upon the subject of war, does indeed discover most admirably the effects of that reason you pretend to: however it is happy that the *shame* is greater than the *danger*; and that nature hath left you utterly incapable of doing much mischief. For, your mouths lying flat with your faces, you can hardly bite each other to any purpose, unless by consent. Then as to the claws upon your feet before and behind, they are so short and tender, that one of our *yahoos* would drive a dozen of yours before him. And therefore in recounting the numbers of those who have been killed in battle, I cannot but think you have *said the thing which is not*.

I could not forbear shaking my head, and smiling a little at his ignorance. And being no stranger to the art of war, I gave him a description of cannons, culverins, musquets, carabines, pistols, bullets, powder, swords, bayonets,

bayonets, battles, sieges, retreats, attacks, undermines, countermines, bombardments, sea-fights, ships sunk with a thousand men, twenty thousand killed on each side, dying groans; limbs flying in the air, smoke, noise, confusion, trampling to death under horses feet; flight, pursuit, victory; fields strewed with carcases, left for food to dogs and wolves, and birds of prey; plundering, stripping, ravishing, burning and destroying. And to set forth the valour of my own dear countrymen, I assured him, that I had seen them blow up a hundred enemies at once in a siege, and as many in a ship; and beheld the dead bodies drop down in pieces from the clouds, to the great diversion of the spectators*.

I was going on to more particulars; when my master commanded me silence. He said, whoever understood the nature of *yahoos*, might easily believe it possible for so vile an animal to be capable of every action I had named, if their strength and cunning equalled their malice. But as my discourse had increased his abhorrence of the whole species, so he found it gave him a disturbance in his mind,

* It would perhaps be impossible, by the most laboured argument or forcible eloquence, to shew the absurd injustice and horrid cruelty of war so effectually, as by this simple exhibition of them in a new light. With war, including every species of iniquity and every art of destruction, we become familiar by degrees, under specious terms, which are seldom examined, because they are learned at an age, in which the mind implicitly receives and retains whatever is impressed. Thus it happens, that when one man murders another to gratify his lust, we shudder; but when one man murders a million to gratify his vanity, we approve and we admire, we envy and we applaud. If, when this and the preceeding pages are read, we discover with astonishment, that, when the same events have occurred in history, we felt no emotion, and acquiesced in wars which we could not but know to have been commenced for such causes, and carried on by such means; let not him be censured for too much debasing his species, who has contributed to their felicity and preservation, by stripping off the veil of custom and prejudice, and holding up, in their native deformity, the vices by which they become wretched, and the arts by which they are destroyed. *Hawkes*

to which he was wholly a stranger before. He thought his ears, being used to such abominable words, might by degrees admit them with less detestation. That although he hated the *yahoos* of this country, yet he no more blamed them for their odious qualities, than he did a *gunayb* (a bird of prey) for its cruelty, or a sharp stone for cutting his hoof. But when a creature, pretending to reason, could be capable of such enormities, he dreaded, lest the corruption of that faculty might be worse than brutality itself. He seemed therefore confident, that, instead of reason, we were only possessed of some quality fitted to increase our natural vices; as the reflection from a troubled stream returns the image of an ill-shapen body, not only *larger* but more *distorted*.

He added, that he had heard too much upon the subject of war, both in this, and some former discourses. There was another point, which a little perplexed him at present. I had informed him, that some of our crew left their country on account of being ruined by *law*; that I had already explained the meaning of the word; but he was at a loss how it should come to pass; that the *law*, which was intended for every man's preservation, should be any man's ruin. Therefore he desired to be farther satisfied what I meant by *law*, and the *dispensers* thereof, according to the present practice in my own country: because he thought *nature* and *reason* were sufficient guides for a reasonable animal, as we pretend to be, in shewing us what we ought to do, and what to avoid.

I assured his honour, that *law* was a science, in which I had not much conversed, further than by employing advocates in vain upon some injustices that had been done me; however I would give him all the satisfaction I was able.

I said, there was a society of men among us bred up from their youth in the art of proving, by words multiplied for the purpose, that *white* is *black*, and *black* is *white*, according as they are paid *. To this society all the rest of the people are slaves. For example; if my neigh-

* As in every cause council are fee'd on both sides, it cannot be pretended, that this account is much exaggerated. *Hawkes*

bour hath a mind to my *cow*, he hires a *lawyer* to prove that he ought to have my *cow* from me. I must then hire another to defend my right; it being against all rules of *law*, that any man should be allowed to speak for himself. Now in this case I, who am the right owner, lie under two great disadvantages; *first*, my *lawyer*, being practised almost from his eradle in defending falshood, is quite out of his element, when he would be an advocate for justice, which is an unnatural office, he always attempts with great awkwardness, if not with ill-will. The *second* disadvantage is, that my *lawyer* must proceed with great caution, or else he will be reprimanded by the *judges*; and abhorred by his brethren, as one that would lessen the practice of the *law*. And therefore I have but two methods to preserve my *cow*. The first is, to gain over my adversary's *lawyer* with a double fee; who will then betray his client, by insinuating that he hath *justice* on his side. The second way is, for my *lawyer* to make my cause appear as *unjust* as he can, by allowing the *cow* to belong to my adversary; and this, if it be skilfully done, will certainly bespeak the favour of the bench. Now your honour is to know, that these *judges* are persons appointed to decide all controversies of property, as well as for the trial of criminals, and picked out from the most dexterous lawyers who are grown old or lazy; and having been byassed all their lives against truth and equity, lie under such a fatal necessity of favouring fraud, perjury, and oppression, that I have known some of them refuse a large bribe from the side where justice lay, rather than injure the faculty, by doing any thing unbecoming their nature or their office.

It is a maxim among these lawyers, that whatever hath been done before, may legally be done again: and therefore they take special care to record all the decisions formerly made against common justice, and the general reason of mankind. These, under the name of *precedents*, they produce as authorities to justify the most iniquitous opinions, and the judges never fail of directing accordingly.

In pleading, they studiously avoid entering into the *merits* of the cause; but are loud, violent, and tedious, in dwelling upon all *circumstances* which are not to the purpose.

pose. For instance, in the case already mentioned: they never desire to know what claim or title my adversary hath to my *cow*; but whether the *cow* were red or black; her horns long or short; whether the field I graze her in be round or square; whether she was milked at home or abroad; what diseases she is subject to, and the like; after which they consult *precedents*, adjourn the cause from time to time, and in ten, twenty, or thirty years come to an issue.

It is likewise to be observed, that this society hath a peculiar cant and jargon of their own, that no other mortal can understand, and wherein all their laws are written, which they take special care to multiply; whereby they have wholly confounded the very essence of truth and falsehood, of right and wrong; so that it will take thirty years to decide, whether the field left me by my ancestors for six generations, belongs to me or to a stranger three hundred miles off.

In the trial of persons accused for crimes against the state, the method is much more short and commendable: the judge first sends to sound the disposition of those in power, after which he can easily hang or save a criminal, strictly preserving all the due forms of *law*.

Here my master interposing, said it was a pity, that creatures endued with such prodigious abilities of mind, as these *lawyers*, by the description I gave of them, must certainly be, were not rather encouraged to be instructors of others in wisdom and knowledge. In answer to which I assured his honour, that, in all points out of their own trade, they were usually the most ignorant and stupid generation among us, the most despicable in common conversation, avowed enemies to all knowledge and learning, and equally disposed to pervert the general reason of mankind in every other subject of discourse as in that of their own profession.

C H A P. VI.

A continuation of the state of England under Queen Anne. The character of a first minister of state in European courts.

MY master was yet wholly at a loss to understand, what motives could incite this race of *lawyers* to perplex, disquiet, and weary themselves, and engage in a confederacy of injustice, merely for the sake of injuring their fellow-animals; neither could he comprehend what I meant in saying, they did it for *hire*. Whereupon I was at much pains to describe to him the use of *money*, the materials it was made of, and the value of the metals; that when a *yahoo* had got a great store of this precious substance, he was able to purchase whatever he had a mind to, the finest clothing, the noblest houses, great tracts of land, the most costly meats and drinks; and have his choice of the most beautiful females. Therefore, since *money* alone was able to perform all these feats, our *yahoos* thought they could never have enough of it to spend, or to save, as they found themselves inclined from their natural bent either to profusion or avarice. That the rich man enjoyed the fruit of the poor man's labour, and the latter were a thousand to one in proportion to the former. That the bulk of our people were forced to live miserably, by labouring every day for small wages, to make a few live plentifully. I enlarged myself much on these and many other particulars to the same purpose: but his honour was still to seek; for he went upon a supposition, that all animals had a title to their share in the production of the earth, and especially those who presided over the rest. Therefore he desired I would let him know, what these costly meats were, and how any of us happened to want them. Whereupon I enumerated as many sorts as came into my head, with the various methods of dressing them, which could not be done without sending vessels by sea to every part of the world, as well for liquors to drink, as for sauces, and innumerable other conveniencies. I assured him that
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this whole globe of earth must be at least three times gone round, before one of our better female *yahoos* could get her breakfast, or a cup to put it in. He said that must needs be a miserable country, which cannot furnish food for its own inhabitants. But what he chiefly wondered at was, how such vast tracts of ground, as I described, should be wholly without *fresh water*, and the people put to the necessity of sending over the sea for drink. I replied, that England (the dear place of my nativity) was computed to produce three times the quantity of food, more than its inhabitants are able to consume, as well as liquors extracted from grain, or pressed out of the fruit of certain trees, which made excellent drink; and the same proportion in every other convenience of life. But in order to feed the luxury and intemperance of the males, and the vanity of the females, we sent away the greatest part of our necessary things to other countries, from whence we in return brought the materials of diseases, folly, and vice, to spend among ourselves. Hence it follows of necessity, that vast numbers of our people are compelled to seek their livelihood by begging, robbing, stealing, cheating, pimping, flattering, suborning, forswearing, forging, gaming, lying, fawning, bestowing, voting, scribbling, star-gazing, poisoning, whoring, canting, libelling, free-thinking, and the like occupations: every one of which terms I was at much pains to make him understand.

* That *wine* was not imported among us from foreign countries to supply the want of water, or other drinks, but because it was a sort of liquid which made us merry, by putting us out of our senses, diverted all melancholy thoughts, begat wild extravagant imaginations in the brain, raised our hopes, and banished our fears; suspended every office of reason for a time, and deprived us of the use of our limbs, till we fell into a profound sleep; although it must be confessed, that we always awaked sick and dispirited; and that the use of this liquor filled us with diseases, which made our lives uncomfortable and short †.

† This account excites ideas of drunkenness, very different from those which are conceived under the terms by which it is generally expressed. *Hawkes.*

But

But besides all this, the bulk of our people supported themselves by furnishing the necessities or conveniencies of life to the rich, and to each other. For instance, when I am at home, and dressed as I ought to be, I carry on my body the workmanship of an hundred tradesmen; the building and furniture of my house employ as many more, and five times the number to adorn my wife.

I was going on to tell him of another sort of people, who get their livelihood by attending the sick, having upon some occasions informed his honour, that many of my crew had died of diseases. But here it was with the utmost difficulty, that I brought him to apprehend what I meant. He could easily conceive, that a Houyhnhnm grew weak and heavy a few days before his death, or by some accident might hurt a limb: but that nature, who works all things to perfection, should suffer any pains to breed in our bodies, he thought impossible, and desired to know the reason of so unaccountable an evil. I told him, we fed on a thousand things, which operated contrary to each other; that we eat when we were not hungry, and drank without the provocation of thirst; that we sat whole nights drinking strong liquors without eating a bit, which disposed us to sloth, enflamed our bodies, and precipitated or prevented digestion. That prostitute female *yahoos* acquired a certain malady, which bred rottenness in the bones of those who fell into their embraces; that this and many other diseases were propagated from father to son; so that great numbers come into the world with complicated maladies upon them: that it would be endless to give him a catalogue of all diseases incident to human bodies; for they could not be fewer than five or six hundred spread over every limb and joint; in short, every part, external and intestine, having diseases appropriated to itself. To remedy which there was a sort of people bred up among us in the profession, or pretence, of curing the sick. And because I had some skill in the faculty, I would in gratitude to his honour let him know the whole mystery and method, by which they proceed.

Their fundamental is, that all diseases arise from *repletion*; from whence they conclude, that a great *evacuation* of the body is necessary either through the natural

passage, or upwards at the mouth. Their next business is from herbs, minerals, gums, oils, shells, salts, juices, sea-weed, excrements, barks of trees, serpents, toads, frogs, spiders, dead mens flesh and bones, birds, beasts, and fishes, to form a composition for smell and taste the most abominable, nauseous, and detestable, they can possibly contrive, which the stomach immediately rejects with loathing; and this they call a *vomit*: or else from the same store-house, with some other poisonous additions, they command us to take in at the orifice *above* or *below* (just as the physician then happens to be disposed) a medicine equally annoying and disgusting to the bowels; which, relaxing the belly, drives down all before it; and this they call a *purge* or a *clyster*. For nature (as the physicians alledge) having intended the superior anterior orifice only for the *intromission* of solids and liquids, and the inferior posterior for *ejection*; these artists ingeniously considering that in all diseases nature is forced out of her seat, therefore to replace her in it, the body must be treated in a manner directly contrary, by interchanging the use of each orifice; forcing solids and liquids in at the *anus*, and making evacuations at the mouth.

But besides real diseases, we are subject to many that are only imaginary, for which the physicians have invented imaginary cures: these have their several names, and so have the drugs that are proper for them; and with these our female *yahops* are always infested.

One great excellency in this tribe is their skill at *prognostics*, wherein they seldom fail; their predictions in real diseases, when they rise to any degree of malignity, generally portending *death*, which is always in their power, when recovery is not: and therefore, upon any unexpected signs of amendment after they have pronounced their sentence, rather than be accused for false prophets, they know how to approve their sagacity to the world by a seasonable dose.

They are likewise of special use to husbands and wives, who are grown weary of their mates: to eldest sons, to great ministers of state, and often to princes.

I had formerly upon occasion discoursed with my master upon the nature of *government* in general, and particularly of our own *excellent constitution*, deservedly the wonder

wonder and envy of the whole world. But having here accidentally mentioned a *minister of state*, he commanded me some time after to inform him, what species of *jahoo* I particularly meant by that appellation.

I told him, that a first or chief minister of state, who was the person I intended to describe, was a creature wholly exempt from joy and grief; love and hatred, pity and anger; at least makes use of no other passions, but a violent desire of wealth, power, and titles; that he applies his words to all uses, except to the indication of his mind; that he never tells a *truth* but with an intent that you should take it for a *lye*; nor a *lye*, but with a design that you should take it for a *truth*; that those he speaks worst of behind their backs, are in the surest way of preferment; and whenever he begins to praise you to others, or to yourself, you are from that day forlorn. The worst mark you can receive is a *promise*, especially when it is confirmed with an oath; after which every wise man retires, and gives over all hopes.

There are three methods, by which a man may rise to be chief minister. The first is, by knowing how with prudence to dispose of a wife, a daughter, or a sister; the second, by betraying or undermining his predecessor; and the third is, by a *furious zeal* in public assemblies against the corruptions of the court. But a wise prince would rather choose to employ those, who practise the last of these methods; because such zealots prove always the most obsequious and subservient to the will and passions of their master. That these *ministers*, having all employments at their disposal, preserve themselves in power by bribing the majority of a senate or great council; and at last by an expedient, called an *act of indemnity* (whereof I described the nature to him) they secure themselves from after-reckonings, and retire from the public, laden with the spoils of the nation.

The palace of a *chief minister* is a seminary to breed up others in his own trade: the pages, lacquies, and porter, by imitating their master, become *ministers of state* in their several districts, and learn to excel in the three principal ingredients, of *insolence*, *lying*, and *bribery*. Accordingly they have a *subaltern court* paid to them by persons of the best rank; and sometimes, by the

force of dexterity and impudence, arrive, through several gradations, to be successor to their lord.

He is usually governed by a decayed wench, or favourite footman, who are the funnels through which all graces are conveyed, and may properly be called, *in the last resort*, the governors of the kingdom. One day in discourse, my master having heard me mention the *nobility* of my country, was pleased to make me a compliment, which I could not pretend to deserve: that he was sure I must have been born of some noble family, because I far exceeded in shape, colour, and cleanliness all the *yahoos* of this nation, although I seemed to fail in strength and agility, which must be imputed to my different way of living from those other brutes; and besides I was not only endued with the faculty of speech, but likewise with some rudiments of reason, to a degree, that with all his acquaintance I passed for a prodigy.

He made me observe, that among the Houyhnhnms, the *white*, the *forrel*, and the *iron-grey*, were not so exactly shaped as the *bay*, the *dapple-grey*, and the *black*; nor born with equal talents of mind, or a capacity to improve them; and therefore continued always in the condition of servants, without ever aspiring to match out of their own race, which in that country would be reckoned monstrous and unnatural.

I made his honour my most humble acknowledgements for the good opinion he was pleased to conceive of me; but assured him, at the same time, that my birth was of the lower sort, having been born of plain honest parents, who were just able to give me a tolerable education; that *nobility* among us was altogether a different thing from the idea he had of it; that our young noblemen are bred from their childhood in idleness and luxury; that, as soon as years will permit, they consume their vigour, and contract odious diseases among lewd females; and when their fortunes are almost ruined, they marry some woman of mean birth, disagreeable person, and unsound constitution, merely for the sake of money, whom they hate and despise. That the productions of such marriages are generally scrophulous, rickety, or deformed children; by which means the family seldom continues above three generations, unless the wife takes care to provide a healthy father

father among her neighbours or domestics, in order to improve and continue the breed: That a weak diseased body, a meagre countenance, and fallow complexion, are the true marks of *noble blood*; and a healthy robust appearance, is so disgraceful in a man of quality, that the world concludes his real father to have been a *groom*, or a *coachman*. The imperfections of his mind run parallel with those of his body, being a composition of spleen, dulness, ignorance, caprice, sensuality, and pride.

Without the consent of this illustrious body, no law can be enacted, repealed, or altered; and these *nobles* have likewise the decisions of all our possessions, without appeal.

C H A P. VII.

The author's great love of his native country. His master's observations upon the constitution and administration of England, as described by the author, with parallel cases and comparisons. His master's observations upon human nature.

THE reader may be disposed to wonder; how I could prevail on myself to give a free representation of my own species among a race of mortals, who are already too apt to conceive the vilest opinion of human kind from that intire congruity betwixt me and their *yahoos*. But I must freely confess, that the many virtues of those excellent *quadrupeds*, placed in opposite view to human corruptions, had so far opened my eyes, and enlarged my understanding; that I began to view the actions and passions of man in a very different light; and to think the honour of my own kind not worth managing; which besides it was impossible for me to do before a person of so acute a judgment as my master, who daily convinced me of a thousand faults in myself, whereof I had not the least perception before, and which with us would never be numbered even among human infirmities. I had likewise learned from his example an utter detestation of all falsehood or disguise; and *truth* appeared so amiable to me, that I determined upon sacrificing every thing to it.

Let me deal so candidly with the reader as to confess,

that there was yet a much stronger motive for the freedom I took in my representation of things. I had not been a year in this country, before I contracted such a love and veneration for the inhabitants, that I entered on a firm resolution never to return to human kind, but to pass the rest of my life among these admirable Houyhnhnms in the contemplation and practice of every virtue, where I could have no example or incitement to vice. But it was decreed by fortune, my perpetual enemy, that so great a felicity should not fall to my share. However, it is now some comfort to reflect, that, in what I said of my countrymen, I *extenuated* their faults as much as I durst before so strict an examiner; and upon every article gave as *favourable* a turn as the matter would bear. For indeed who is there alive, that will not be swayed by his bias and partiality to the place of his birth?

I have related the substance of several conversations I had with my master, during the greatest part of the time I had the honour to be in his service; but have indeed, for brevity's sake, omitted much more than is here set down.

When I had answered all his questions, and his curiosity seemed to be fully satisfied, he sent for me one morning early, and commanding me to sit down at some distance (an honour which he had never before conferred upon me), he said, he had been very seriously considering my whole story, so far as it related both to myself and my country: that he looked upon us as a sort of animals, to whose share, by what accident he could not conjecture, some small pittance of *reason* had fallen, whereof we made no other use, than by its assistance to aggravate our *natural* corruptions, and to acquire new ones, which nature had not given us: that we disarmed ourselves of the few abilities she had bestowed; had been very successful in multiplying our original wants, and seemed to spend our whole lives in vain endeavours to supply them by our own inventions. That as to myself it was manifest, I had neither the strength or agility of a common *yahoo*; that I walked infirmly on my hinder-feet; had found out a contrivance to make my claws of no use or defence, and to remove the hair from my chin, which

was

was intended as a shelter from the sun and the weather. Lastly, That I could neither run with speed, nor climb trees like my *brethren* (as he called them), the *yahoos* in this country.

That our institutions of *government* and *law* were plainly owing to our gross defects in *reason*, and by consequence in *virtue*; because *reason* alone is sufficient to govern a *rational* creature; which was therefore a character we had no pretence to challenge, even from the account I had given of my own people: although he manifestly perceived, that, in order to favour them, I had concealed many particulars, and often *said the thing which was not*.

He was the more confirmed in this opinion, because he observed, that as I agreed in every feature of my body with other *yahoos*, except where it was to my real disadvantage, in point of strength, speed, and activity, the shortness of my claws, and some other particulars where nature had no part; so from the representation I had given him of our lives, our manners, and our actions, he found as near a resemblance in the disposition of our minds. He said the *yahoos* were known to hate one another, more than they did any different species of animals; and the reason usually assigned was, the odiousness of their own shapes, which all could see in the rest but not in themselves. He had therefore begun to think it not unwise in us to *cover* our bodies, and by that invention conceal many of our deformities from each other, which would else be hardly supportable. But he now found he had been mistaken, and that the dissensions of those brutes in his country were owing to the same cause with ours, as I had described them. For if (said he) you throw among five *yahoos* as much food as would be sufficient for fifty, they will, instead of eating peaceably, fall together by the ears, each single one impatient to *have all to itself*; and therefore a servant was usually employed to stand by while they were feeding abroad, and those kept at home were tied at a distance from each other; that if a cow died of age or accident, before a Houyhnhnm could secure it for his own *yahoos*, those in the neighbourhood would come in herds to seize it, and then would ensue such a battle as I had described,

with

with terrible wounds made by their claws on both sides, although they seldom were able to kill one another for want of such convenient instruments of death as we had invented. At other times the like battles have been fought between the *yahoos* of several neighbourhoods without any visible cause: those of one district watching all opportunities to surprise the next, before they are prepared. But, if they find their project hath miscarried, they return home, and, for want of enemies, engage in what I call a civil war among themselves.

That in some fields of his country there are certain *shining stones* of several colours; whereof the *yahoos* are violently fond; and when part of these *stones* is fixed in the earth, as it sometimes happeneth, they will dig with their claws for whole days to get them out; then carry them away and hide them by heaps in their kennels; but still looking round with great caution for fear their comrades should find out their treasure. My master said, he could never discover the reason of this unnatural appetite, or how these *stones* could be of any use to a *yahoo*; but now he believed it might proceed from the same principle of *avarice*, which I had ascribed to mankind: that he had once, by way of experiment, privately removed a heap of these *stones* from the place where one of his *yahoos* had buried it; whereupon the sordid animal, missing his treasure, by his loud lamenting brought the whole herd to the place; there miserably howled, then fell to biting and tearing the rest; began to pine away, would neither eat, nor sleep, nor work; till he ordered a servant privately to convey the *stones* into the same hole, and hide them as before; which when his *yahoo* had found, he presently recovered his spirits, and good humour, but took care to remove them to a better hiding-place, and hath ever since been a very serviceable brute*.

My master farther assured me, which I also observed myself, that in the fields where the *shining stones* abound, the fiercest and most frequent battles are fought, occasi-

* Nothing can be said to make avarice a greater reproach to mankind, except that it is a vice which this description will not cure. *Hawkes.*

oned by perpetual inroads of the neighbouring *yahoos*.

He said, it was common, when two *yahoos* discovered such a *stone* in a field, and were contending which of them should be the proprietor, a third would take the advantage, and carry it away from them both; which my master would needs contend to have some kind of resemblance with our *suits at law*; wherein I thought it for our credit not to deceive him; since the decision he mentioned was much more equitable than many degrees among us: because the plaintiff and defendant there lost nothing beside the *stone* they contended for, whereas our *courts of equity* would never have dismissed the cause, while either of them had any thing left.

My master, continuing his discourse, said, there was nothing that rendered the *yahoos* more odious; than their undistinguishing appetite to devour every thing that came in their way, whether herbs, roots, berries, the corrupted flesh of animals, or all mingled together: and it was peculiar in their temper, that they were fonder of what they could get by rapine or stealth at a greater distance, than much better food provided for them at home. If their prey held out, they would eat till they were ready to burst, after which nature had pointed out to them a certain *root* that gave them a general evacuation.

There was also another kind of *root*, very juicy, but somewhat rare and difficult to be found, which the *yahoos* sought for with much eagerness, and would suck it with great delight; it produced in them the same effects, that wine hath upon us. It would make them sometimes lug, and sometimes tear one another; they would howl, and grin, and chatter, and reel, and tumble, and then fall asleep in the mud.

I did indeed observe, that the *yahoos* were the only animals in this country subject to any diseases; which however were much fewer than horses have among us, and contracted not by any ill treatment they meet with, but by the nastiness and greediness of that sordid brute. Neither has their language any more than a general appellation for those maladies, which is borrowed from the name of the beast, and called *hnea-yahoo* or the *yahoo's evil*, and the cure prescribed is a mixture of *their own dung* and *urine*, forcibly put down the *yahoo's* throat.

This

This I have since often known to have been taken with success, and do here freely recommend it to my countrymen, for the public-good, as an admirable specific against all diseases produced by repletion.

As to learning, government, arts, manufactures, and the like, my master confessed, he could find little or no resemblance between the *yahoos* of that country and those in ours. For he only meant to observe, what parity there was in our natures. He had heard indeed some curious Houyhnhnms observe, that in most herds there was a sort of ruling *yahoo* (as among us there is generally some leading or principal stag in a park) who was always more *deformed* in body, and *mischievous in disposition*, than any of the rest. That this leader had usually a favourite as *like himself* as he could get, whose employment was to *lick his master's feet and posteriors, and drive the female yahoos to his kennel* *; for which he was now and then rewarded with a piece of ass's flesh. This favourite is hated by the whole herd; and therefore to protect himself keeps always *near the person of his leader*. He usually continues in office, till a worse can be found; but the very moment he is discarded, his successor at the head of all the *yahoos* in that district, young and old, male and female, come in a body, and discharge their excrements upon him from head to foot. But how far this might be applicable to our *courts and favourites, and ministers of state*, my master said I could best determine.

I durst make no return to this malicious insinuation, which debased human understanding below the sagacity of a common *hound*, who hath judgment enough to distinguish and follow the cry of the *ablest dog in the pack*, without being ever mistaken.

My master told me there was some qualities remarkable in the *yahoos*, which he had not observed me to mention, or at least very slightly, in the accounts I had given him of human kind; he said, those animals, like other brutes, had their females in common; but in this they differed, that the she *yahoo* would admit the male, while she was pregnant; and that the hees would quarrel and

* Flattery and pimping. *Hawkes*.

fight with the females, as fiercely as with each other; both which practices were such degrees of infamous brutality, as no other sensitive creature ever arrived at.

Another thing he wondered at in the *yahoos*, was their strange disposition to nastiness and dirt; whereas there appears to be a natural love of cleanliness in all other animals. As to the two former accusations, I was glad to let them pass without any reply, because I had not a word to offer upon them in defence of my species, which otherwise I certainly had done from my own inclinations. But I could have easily vindicated human-kind from the imputation of singularity upon the last article, if there had been any *swine* in that country (as unluckily for me there were not), which, although it may be a *sweeter quadruped* than a *yahoo*, cannot, I humbly conceive, in justice, pretend to more cleanliness; and so his honour himself must have owned, if he had seen their filthy way of feeding, and their custom of swallowing and sleeping in the mud.

My master likewise mentioned another quality, which his servants had discovered in several *yahoos*, and to him was wholly unaccountable. He said, a fancy would sometimes take a *yahoo* to retire into a corner, to lie down, and howl and groan, and spurn away all that came near him, although he were young and fat, wanted neither food nor water; nor did the servants imagine what could possibly ail him. And the only remedy they found was to set him to hard work, after which he would infallibly come to himself. To this I was silent, out of partiality to my own kind; yet here I could plainly discover the true seeds of *spleen*, which only seizeth on the *lazy*, the *luxurious* and the *rich*; who if they were forced to undergo the *same regimen*, I would undertake for the cure.

His honour had farther observed, that a female *yahoo* would often stand behind a bank or a bush to gaze on the young males passing by, and then appear, and hide, using many antic gestures and grimaces, at which time it was observed that she had a most *offensive smell*; and when any of the males advanced, would slowly retire, looking often back, and with a countenance shew of fear

run

run off into some convenient place, where she knew the male would follow her.

At other times, if a female stranger came among them, three or four of her own sex would get about her, and stare, and chatter, and grin, and smell her all over; and then turn off, with gestures that seemed to express contempt and disdain.

Perhaps my master might refine a little on these speculations, which he had drawn from what he observed himself, or had been told him by others: however I could not reflect without some amazement and much sorrow, that the rudiments of *lewdness*, *coquetry*, *censure* and *scandal* should have place by instinct in womankind.

I expected every moment, that my master would accuse the *yahoos* of those unnatural appetites in both sexes, so common among us. But nature, it seems, hath not been so expert a school-mistress; and these politer pleasures are intirely the productions of art and reason on our side of the globe.

C H A P. VIII.

The author relates several particulars of the yahoos. The great virtues of the Houyhnhnms. The education and exercise of their youth. Their general assembly.

AS I ought to have understood human nature much better, than I supposed it possible for my master to do, so it was easy to apply the character he gave of the *yahoos* to myself, and my countrymen; and I believed, I could yet make farther discoveries from my own observation. I therefore often begged his honour to let me go among the herds of *yahoos* in the neighbourhood, to which he always very graciously consented, being perfectly convinced, that the hatred I bore these brutes would never suffer me to be corrupted by them; and his honour ordered one of his servants, a strong sorrel-nag, very honest and good-natured, to be my guard, without whose protection I durst not undertake such adventures. For I have already told the reader, how much I was pestered

by

by those odious animals upon my first arrival. And I afterwards failed very narrowly three or four times of falling into their clutches, when I happened to stray at any distance without my hanger. And I have reason to believe they had some imagination that I was of their own species, which I often assisted myself, by stripping up my sleeves, and shewing my naked arms and breast in their sight, when my protector was with me. At which times they would approach as near as they durst, and imitate my actions after the manner of monkeys, but ever with great signs of hatred; as a tame *jack-daw* with cap and stockings is always persecuted by the wild ones, when he happens to be got among them.

They are prodigiously nimble from their infancy; however I once caught a young male of three years old, and endeavoured by all marks of tenderness to make it quiet; but the little imp fell a squaling, and scratching, and biting, with such violence, that I was forced to let it go; and it was high time; for a whole troop of old ones came about us at the noise; but finding the cub was safe (for away it ran), and my sorrel-nag being by, they durst not venture near us. I observed the young animal's flesh to smell very rank, and the stink was somewhat beyond a *weasel* and a *fox*, but much more disagreeable. I forgot another circumstance (and perhaps I might have the reader's pardon, if it were wholly omitted), that while I held the odious vermin in my hands, it voided its filthy excrements, of a yellow liquid substance, all over my cloaths; but by good fortune there was a small brook hard by, where I washed myself as clean as I could; although I durst not come into my master's presence, until I were sufficiently aired.

By what I could discover, the *yahoos* appear to be the most unteachable of all animals; their capacities never reaching higher than to draw or carry burdens. Yet I am of opinion, this defect ariseth chiefly from a perverse, restless disposition: For they are cunning, malicious, treacherous, and revengeful. They are strong and hardy, but of a cowardly spirit, and by consequence insolent, abject, and cruel. It is observed, that the *red-haired* of both sexes are more libidinous and mischievous

than the rest, whom yet they much exceed in strength and activity.

The Houyhnhnms keep the *yahoos* for present use in huts not far from the house; but the rest are sent abroad to certain fields, where they dig up roots, eat several kinds of herbs, and search about for carrion, or sometimes catch *weasels* and *luhimuh* (a sort of *wild rat*), which they greedily devour. Nature hath taught them to dig deep holes with their nails on the side of a rising ground, wherein they lie by themselves; only the kennels of the females are larger, sufficient to hold two or three cubs.

They swim from their infancy like frogs, and are able to continue long under water, where they often take fish, which the females carry home to their young. And upon this occasion I hope the reader will pardon my relating an odd adventure.

Being one day abroad with my protector, the sorrel-nag, and the weather exceeding hot, I intreated him to let me bathe in a river that was near. He consented, and I immediately stripped myself stark-naked, and went down softly into the stream. It happened that a young female *yahoo*, standing behind a bank, saw the whole proceeding, and inflamed by desire, as the nag and I conjectured, came running with all speed, and leaped into the water within five yards of the place where I bathed. I was never in my life so terribly frightened; the nag was gazing at some distance, not suspecting any harm. She embraced me, after a most fulsome manner: I roared as loud as I could, and the nag came galloping towards me; whereupon she quitted her grasp with the utmost reluctance, and leaped upon the opposite bank, where she stood gazing and howling all the time I was putting on my cloaths.

This was a matter of diversion to my master and his family, as well as of mortification to myself. For now I could no longer deny, that I was a real *yahoo* in every limb and feature, since the females had a natural propensity to me, as one of their own species: neither was the hair of this brute of a red colour (which might have been some excuse for an appetite a little irregular), but black as a sloe, and her countenance did not make an appearance

pearance altogether so hideous as the rest of her kind; for, I think, she could not be above eleven years old.

Having lived three years in this country, the reader, I suppose, will expect, that I should, like other travellers, give him some account of the manners and customs of its inhabitants, which it was indeed my principal study to learn.

As these noble Houghnhnms are endued by nature with a general disposition to all virtues, and have no conceptions or ideas of what is evil in a rational creature; so their grand maxim is, to cultivate *reason*, and to be wholly governed by it. Neither is *reason* among them a point problematical, as with us, where men can argue with plausibility on both sides of a question; but strikes you with immediate conviction; as it must needs do, where it is not mingled, obscured, or discoloured, by passion and interest. I remember it was with extreme difficulty, that I could bring my master to understand the meaning of the word *opinion*, or how a point could be disputable; because *reason* taught us to affirm or deny only where we are certain; and beyond our knowledge we cannot do either: So that controversies, wranglings, disputes, and positiveness, in false or dubious propositions, are evils unknown among the Houghnhnms. In the like manner, when I used to explain to him our several systems of *natural philosophy*, he would laugh, that a creature pretending to *reason*, should value itself upon the knowledge of other people's conjectures, and in things where that knowledge, if it were certain, could be of no use; wherein he agreed entirely with the sentiments of Socrates; as Plato delivers them; which I mention as the highest honour I can do that prince of philosophers. I have often since reflected, what destruction such a doctrine would make in the libraries of Europe; and how many paths to fame would be then shut up in the learned world.

Friendship and *benevolence* are the two principal virtues among the Houghnhnms*; and these not confined to particular objects, but universal, to the whole race. For a stranger from the remotest parts is equally treated with the nearest neighbour; and where-ever he

† Their virtuous qualities are only negative, *Orrery*.

goes, looks upon himself as at home. They preserve *decency* and *civility* in the highest degrees; but are altogether ignorant of *ceremony*. They have no fondness for their colts or foals; but the care they take in educating them, proceedeth intirely from the dictates of *reason* *. And I observed my master to shew the same affection to his neighbour's issue, that he had for his own. They will have it that *nature* teaches them to love the whole species, and it is *reason* only that maketh a distinct on of persons, where there is a superior degree of virtue †.

When the matron Houyhnhnms have produced one of each sex, they no longer accompany with their consorts, except they lose one of their issue by some casualty, which very seldom happens: but in such a case they meet again; or when the like accident befalls a person whose wife is past bearing, some other couple bestow on him one of their own colts, and then go together again until the mother is pregnant. The caution is necessary to prevent the country from being over-burdened with numbers. But the race of inferior Houyhnhnms, bred up to be servants, is not so strictly limited upon this article; these are allowed to produce three of each sex to be domestics in the noble families.

In their marriages, they are exactly careful to choose such colours as will not make any disagreeable mixture in the breed. *Strength* is chiefly valued in the male,

* We here view the pure instincts of brutes, acting in their narrow sphere, merely for their immediate preservation. *Orrery*.

— See above, P. 219. 221.

† It may perhaps be thought somewhat strange, that the sense of the noble Commentator should appear to be directly opposite to that of the author, in the passages which these notes were intended to illustrate. But this apparent opposition may arise merely from their using the same word in an opposite sense; as by the word *candour*, his Lordship always means a quality which inclines a man to put the worst construction upon the words and actions of another; and by *candour*, the Dean always means just the contrary.

Compare the note from Orrery, in Gulliver's Travels, vol. 4. p. 50. with Swift's apology for the Tale of a Tub, in vol. 1. p. 2.

and

and *comeliness* in the female ; not upon the account of *love*, but to preserve the race from degenerating ; for where a female happens to excel in *strength*, a consort is chosen with regard to *comeliness*.

Courtship, love, presents, jointures, settlements, have no place in their thoughts ; or terms whereby to express them in their language. The young couple meet and are joined, merely because it is the determination of their parents and friends : it is what they see done every day, and they look upon it as one of the necessary actions of a reasonable being. But the violation of marriage, or any other unchastity, was never heard of ; and the married pair pass their lives with the same friendship, and mutual benevolence, that they bear to others of the same species who come in their way ; without jealousy, fondness, quarrelling, or discontent.

In educating the youth of both sexes, their method is admirable, and highly deserveth our imitation. These are not suffered to taste a grain of *oats*, except upon certain days, till eighteen years old ; nor *milk*, but very rarely ; and in summer they graze two hours in the morning, and as many in the evening, which their parents likewise observe ; but the servants are not allowed above half that time, and a great part of their grass is brought home, which they eat at the most convenient hours, when they can be best spared from work.

Temperance, industry, exercise, and cleanliness, are the lessons equally enjoined to the young ones of both sexes : and my master thought it monstrous in us to give the females a different kind of education from the males, except in some articles of domestic management ; whereby, as he truly observed, one half of our natives were good for nothing but bringing children into the world : and to trust the care of our children to such useless animals, he said, was yet a greater instance of brutality.

But the Houyhnhnms train up their youth to strength, speed, and hardiness, by exercising them in running races up and down steep hills, and over hard stony grounds, and when they are all in a sweat, they are ordered to leap over head and ears into a pond or river. Four times a year the youth of a certain district meet to shew their proficiency in running and leaping, and other feats of

strength and agility; where the victor is rewarded, with a song in his or her praise. On this festival the servants drive a herd of *yahoos* into the field, laden with hay, and oats, and milk, for a repast to the Houyhnhnms; after which these brutes are immediately driven back again, for fear of being noisome to the assembly.

Every fourth year, at the *vernal equinox*, there is a representative council of the whole nation, which meets in a plain about twenty miles from our house, and continueth about five or six days. Here they enquire into the state and condition of the several districts; whether they abound, or be deficient in hay or oats, or cows or *yahoos*? and wherever there is any want (which is but seldom), it is immediately supplied by unanimous consent and contribution. Here likewise the regulation of children is settled: as for instance, if a Houyhnhnm hath two males, he changeth one of them with another that hath two females: and when a child hath been lost by any casualty, where the mother is past breeding, it is determined what family in the district shall breed another to supply the loss.

CHAP. IX.

A grand debate at the general assembly of the Houyhnhnms, and how it was determined. The learning of the Houyhnhnms. Their buildings. Their manner of burials. The defectiveness of their language.

ONE of these grand assemblies was held in my time, about three months before my departure, whither my master went as the representative of our district. In this council was resumed their old debate, and indeed the only debate that ever happened in their country; whereof my master after his return gave me a very particular account.

The question to be debated was, whether the *yahoos* should be exterminated from the face of the earth. One of the *members* for the affirmative, offered several arguments of great strength and weight; alledging, that as the *yahoos* were the most filthy, noisome, and deformed animal which nature ever produced, so they were the
most

most restless and indocile, mischievous and malicious: they would privately suck the teats of the Houghnhnms cows, kill and devour their cats, trample down their oats and grass, if they were not continually watched; and commit a thousand other extravagancies. He took notice of a general tradition, that *yahoos* had not been always in their country; but that, many ages ago, two of these brutes appeared together upon a mountain; whether produced by the heat of the sun upon corrupted mud and slime, or from the ooze and froth of the sea, was never known: that these *yahoos* engendered, and their brood, in a short time, grew so numerous as to overrun and infest the whole nation: that the Houghnhnms, to get rid of this evil, made a general hunting, and at last inclosed the whole herd; and destroying the elder, every Houghnhnm kept two young ones in a kennel, and brought them to such a degree of tameness, as an animal so savage by nature can be capable of acquiring; using them for draught and carriage: that there seemed to be much truth in this tradition, and that those creatures could not be *Ylnhniamshy* (or *aborigines* of the land), because of the violent hatred the Houghnhnms, as well as all other animals, bore them; which, although their evil disposition sufficiently deserved, could never have arrived at so high a degree, if they had been Aborigines; or else they would have long since been rooted out: that the inhabitants, taking a fancy to use the service of the *yahoos*, had very imprudently neglected to cultivate the breed of *asses*, which are a comely animal, easily kept, more tame and orderly, without any offensive smell, strong enough for labour, although they yield to the other in agility of body; and, if their braying be no agreeable sound, it is far preferable to the horrible howlings of the *yahoos*.

Several others declared their sentiments to the same purpose, when my master proposed an expedient to the assembly, whereof he had indeed borrowed the hint from me. He approved of the tradition mentioned by the *honourable member*, who spoke before; and affirmed, that the two *yahoos*, said to be the first seen among them, had been driven thither over the sea; that, coming to land, and being forsaken by their companions, they retired to the mountains, and, degenerating by degrees, became

came in process of time much more savage, than those of their own species in the country from whence these two originals came. The reason of this assertion was, that he had now in his possession a certain wonderful *yahoo* (meaning myself); which most of them had heard of, and many of them had seen. He then related to them, how he first found me: that my body was all covered with an artificial compofure of the skins and hairs of other animals: that I spoke in a language of my own, and had thoroughly learned theirs: that I had related to him the accidents which brought me thither; that, when he saw me without my covering, I was an exact *yahoo* in every part, only of a whiter colour, less hairy, and with shorter claws. He added, how I had endeavoured to persuade him, that, in my own and other countries, the *yahoos* acted as the governing, rational animals, and held the Houyhnhnms in servitude: that he observed in me all the qualities of a *yahoo*, only a little more civilized by some tincture of reason; which however was in a degree as far inferior to the Houyhnhnm race, as the *yahoos* of their country were to me: that, among others things, I mentioned a custom we had of *castrating* Houyhnhnms when they were young, in order to render them tame; that the operation was easy and safe; that it was no shame to learn wisdom from brutes, as industry is taught by the ant, and building by the swallow (for so I translate the word *tyhannh*, although it be a much larger fowl): that this invention might be practised upon the younger *yahoos* here, which, besides rendering them tractable and fitter for use, would in an age put an end to the whole species without destroying life: that, in the meantime, the Houyhnhnms should be *exhorted* to cultivate the breed of asses, which as they are in all respects more valuable brutes; so they have this advantage, to be fit for service at five years old, which the others are not till twelve.

This was all my master thought fit to tell me at that time, of what passed in the grand council. But he was pleased to conceal one particular, which related personally to myself, whereof I soon felt the unhappy effect, as the reader will know in its proper place, and from whence I date all the succeeding misfortunes of my life.

The Houyhnhnms have no letters, and consequently
their

their knowledge is all traditional. But there happening few events of any moment among a people so well united, naturally disposed to every virtue, wholly governed by reason, and cut off from all commerce with other nations; the historical part is easily preserved without burdening their memories. I have already observed, that they are subject to no diseases, and therefore can have no need of physicians. However, they have excellent medicines composed of herbs, to cure accidental bruises, and cuts in the pasteron or frog of the foot by sharp stones, as well as other mains and hurts in the several parts of the body.

They calculate the year by the revolution of the sun and the moon, but use no subdivisions into weeks. They are well enough acquainted with the motions of those two luminaries, and understand the nature of *eclipses*; and this is the utmost progress of their *astronomy*.

In *poetry* they must be allowed to excel all other mortals; wherein the justness of their similes, and the minuteness as well as exactness of their descriptions, are indeed inimitable. Their verses abound very much in both of these; and usually contain either some exalted notions of friendship and benevolence, or the praises of those, who were victors in races and other bodily exercises. Their buildings, although very rude and simple, are not inconvenient, but well contrived to defend them from all injuries of cold and heat. They have a kind of tree, which at forty years old loosens in the root, and falls with the first storm; it grows very strait, and being pointed like stakes, with a sharp stone (for the Houghnhnms know not the use of iron), they stick them erect in the ground about ten inches asunder, and then weave in oat-straw, or sometimes wattles, betwixt them. The roof is made after the same manner, and so are the doors.

The Houghnhnms use the hollow part, between the pasteron and the hoof, of their fore-feet, as we do our hands, and this with greater dexterity than I could at first imagine. I have seen a white mare of our family, thread a needle (which I lent her on purpose) with that joint. They milk their cows, reap their oats, and do all the work which requires hands in the same manner. They have a kind of hard flints, which, by grinding a-
gainst

gainst other stones, they form into instruments, that serve instead of wedges, axes, and hammers. With tools made of these flints they likewise cut their hay, and reap their oats, which there grow naturally in several fields: the *yahoos* draw home the sheaves in carriages, and the servants tread them, in certain covered huts, to get out the grain, which is kept in stores. They make a rude kind of earthen and wooden vessels, and bake the former in the sun.

If they can avoid casualties, they die only of old age, and are buried in the obscurest places that can be found, their friends and relations expressing neither joy nor grief at their departure; nor does the dying person discover the least regret that he is leaving the world, any more than if he were upon returning home from a visit to one of his neighbours. I remember, my master having once made an appointment with a friend and his family, to come to his house upon some affair of importance, on the day fixed, the mistress and her two children came very late; she made two excuses, first for her husband, who, as she said, happened that very morning to *thaurunkh*. The word is strongly expressive in their language, but not easily rendered into English; it signifies *to retire to his first mother*. Her excuse for not coming sooner was, that her husband dying late in the morning, she was a good while consulting her servants about a convenient place where his body should be laid; and I observed, she behaved herself at our house as cheerfully as the rest: she died about three months after.

They live generally to seventy, or seventy-five years, very seldom to fourscore: some weeks before their death, they feel a gradual decay; but without pain. During this time they are much visited by their friends, because they cannot go abroad with their usual ease and satisfaction. However, about ten days before their death, which they seldom fail in computing, they return the visits that have been made them, by those who are nearest in the neighbourhood, being carried in a convenient sledge drawn by *yahoos*; which vehicle they use, not only upon this occasion, but when they grow old, upon long journies, or when they are lamed by any accident. And therefore when the dying Houyhnhnms return those visits,

visits, they take a solemn leave of their friends, as if they were going to some remote part of the country, where they designed to pass the rest of their lives.

I know not whether it may be worth observing, that the Houyhnhnms have no word in their language to express any thing that is *evil*, except what they borrow from the deformities or ill qualities of the *yahoos*. Thus they denote the folly of a servant, an omission of a child; a stone that cuts their feet, a continuance of foul or unseasonable weather, and the like, by adding to each the epithet of *yahoo*. For instance, *hhum yahoo*, *whnaholm yahoo*, *ynlmndwihlna yahoo*, and an ill contrived house, *ynholmhnmrahlnw yahoo*.

I could with great pleasure enlarge farther upon the manners and virtues of this excellent people; but intending in a short time to publish a volume by itself, expressly upon that subject, I refer the reader thither. And, in the mean time, proceed to relate my own sad catastrophe.

CHAP. X.

The author's œconomy and happy life among the Houyhnhnms. His great improvement in virtue by conversing with them. Their conversations. The author hath notice given him by his master, that he must depart from the country. He falls into a swoon for grief; but submits. He contrives and finishes a canoe by the help of a fellow-servant, and puts to sea at a venture.

I HAD settled my little œconomy to my own heart's content. My master had ordered a room to be made for me after their manner, about six yards from the house; the sides and floors of which I plaistered with clay, and covered with rush-matts of my own contriving; I had beaten hemp, which there grows wild, and made of it a sort of ticking: this I filled with the feathers of several birds I had taken with springes made of *yahoos* hair, and were excellent food. I had worked two chairs with my knife, the sorrel-nag helping me in the grosser

grosser and more laborious part. When my cloaths were worn to rags, I made myself others with the skins of rabbits, and of a certain beautiful animal about the same size, called *nnuhnoh*, the skin of which is covered with a fine down. Of these I also made very tolerable stockings. I soled my shoes with wood, which I cut from a tree, and fitted to the upper-leather; and when this was worn out, I supplied it with the skins of *yahoos* dried in the sun. I often got honey out of hollow trees, which I mingled with water, or eat with my bread. No man could more verify the truth of these two maxims, *That nature is very easily satisfied*; and, *That necessity is the mother of invention*. I enjoyed perfect health of body, and tranquillity of mind. I did not feel the treachery or inconstancy of a friend, nor the injuries of a secret or open enemy. I had no occasion of bribing, flattering, or pimping, to procure the favour of any great man, or of his minion. I wanted no fence against fraud or oppression; here was neither physician to destroy my body, nor lawyer to ruin my fortune; no informer to watch my words and actions, or forge accusations against me for hire; here were no gibes, censurers, back-biters, pick-pockets, highwaymen, house-breakers, attornies, bawds, buffoons, gamesters, politicians, wits, splenetics, tedious talkers, controvertists, ravishers, murderers, robbers, virtuosoes; no leaders or followers of party and faction; no encouragers to vice by seducement or examples; no dungeons, axes, gibbets, whipping-posts, or pillories; no cheating shop-keepers or mechanics; no pride, vanity, or affectation; no fops, bullies, drunkards, strolling whores, or poxes; no ranting, lewd, expensive wives; no stupid, proud pedants; no importunate, over-bearing, quarrelsome, noisy, roaring, empty, conceited, swearing companions; no scoundrels raised from the dust upon the merit of their vices, or nobility thrown into it on account of their virtues; no lords, fidlers, judges, or dancing-masters.

I had the favour of being admitted to several Houyhnhms, who came to visit or dine with my master; where his honour graciously suffered me to wait in the room, and listen to their discourse. Both he and his company would often descend to ask me questions, and receive

receive my answers. I had also sometimes the honour of attending my master in his visits to others. I never presumed to speak, except in answer to a question; and then I did it with inward regret, because it was a loss of so much time for improving myself: but I was infinitely delighted with the station of an humble auditor in such conversations, where nothing passed but what was useful, expressed in the fewest and most significant words: where (as I have already said) the greatest *decency* was observed without the least degree of ceremony; where no person spoke without being pleased himself, and pleasing his companions; where there was no interruption, tediousness, heat, or difference of sentiments. They have a notion, that when people are met together, a short silence doth much improve conversation: this I found to be true; for during those little intermissions of talk, new ideas would arise in their minds, which very much enlivened the discourse. Their subjects are generally on friendship and benevolence, on order and œconomy; sometimes upon the visible operations of nature, or ancient traditions; upon the bounds and limits of virtue; upon the unerring rules of reason, or upon some determinations to be taken at the next great assembly; and often upon the various excellencies of *poetry*. I may add, without vanity, that my presence often gave them sufficient matter for discourse, because it afforded my master an occasion of letting his friends into the history of me and my country, upon which they were all pleased to descant in a manner not very advantageous to human kind; and for that reason I shall not repeat what they said: only I may be allowed to observe, that his honour, to my great admiration, appeared to understand the nature of *yahoos* much better than myself. He went through all our vices and follies, and discovered many which I had never mentioned to him, by only supposing what qualities a *yahoo* of their country, with a small proportion of reason, might be capable of exerting; and concluded, with too much probability, how vile, as well as miserable, such a creature must be.

I freely confess, that all the little knowledge I have of any value, was acquired by the lectures I received from my master, and from hearing the discourses of him and

his friends; to which I should be prouder to listen, than to dictate to the greatest and wisest assembly in Europe. I admired the strength, comeliness, and speed of the inhabitants; and such a constellation of virtues, in such amiable persons, produced in me the highest veneration. At first indeed I did not feel that natural awe, which the *yahoos* and all other animals bear towards them: but it grew upon me by degrees, much sooner than I imagined, and was mingled with a respectful love and gratitude, that they would condescend to distinguish me from the rest of my species.

When I thought of my family, my friends, my countrymen, or human race in general, I considered them as they really were, *yahoos* in shape and disposition, perhaps a little more civilized, and qualified with the gift of speech; but making no other use of reason, than to improve and multiply those vices, whereof their brethren in this country had only the share that nature allotted them. When I happened to behold the reflection of my own form in a lake or a fountain, I turned away my face in horror and detestation of myself; and could better endure the sight of a common *yahoo* than of my own person. By conversing with the Houyhnhnms, and looking upon them with delight, I fell to imitate their gait and gesture, which is now grown into an habit; and my friends often tell me in a blunt way, that *I trot like a horse*; which however I take for a great compliment: neither shall I disown, that in speaking I am apt to fall into the voice and manner of the Houyhnhnms, and hear myself ridiculed on that account without the least mortification.

In the midst of all this happiness, and when I looked upon myself to be fully settled for life, my master sent for me one morning a little earlier than his usual hour. I observed by his countenance, that he was in some perplexity, and at a loss how to begin what he had to speak. After a short silence, he told me, he did not know how I would take what he was going to say; that in the last general assembly, when the affair of the *yahoos* was entered upon, the representatives had taken offence at his keeping a *yahoo* (meaning myself) in his family, more like a Houyhnhnm, than a brute animal. That he was
known

known frequently to converse with me, as if he could receive some advantage or pleasure in my company: that such a practice was not agreeable to reason or nature, or a thing ever heard of before among them. The assembly did therefore *exhort* him either to employ me like the rest of my species, or command me to swim back to the place from whence I came: That the first of these expedients was utterly rejected by all the Houyhnhnms, who had ever seen me at his house or their own: for they alledged, that because I had some rudiments of reason, added to the natural pravity of those animals, it was to be feared, I might be able to seduce them into the woody and mountainous parts of the country, and bring them in troops by night to destroy the Houyhnhnms cattle, as being naturally of the ravenous kind, and averse from labour.

My master added, that he was daily pressed by the Houyhnhnms of the neighbourhood to have the assembly's *exhortation* executed, which he could not put off much longer. He doubted it would be impossible for me to swim to another country; and therefore wished I would contrive some sort of vehicle resembling those I had described to him, that might carry me on the sea: in which work I should have the assistance of his own servants, as well as those of his neighbours. He concluded, that, for his own part, he could have been content to keep me in his service as long as I lived; because he found I had cured myself of some bad habits and dispositions, by endeavouring, as far as my inferior nature was capable, to imitate the Houyhnhnms.

I should here observe to the reader, that a decree of the general assembly in this country is expressed by the word *hnhloayn*, which signifies an *exhortation*, as near as I can render it; for they have no conception how a rational creature may be *compelled*, but only advised, or *exhorted*; because no person can disobey reason without giving up his claim to be a rational creature.

I was struck with the utmost grief and despair at my master's discourse: and being unable to support the agonies I was under, I fell into a swoon at his feet: when I came to myself, he told me, that he concluded I had been dead (for these people are subject to no such imbeci-

cilities of nature). I answered, in a faint voice, that death would have been too great an happiness; that although I could not blame the assembly's *exhortation*, or the urgency of his friends; yet, in my weak and corrupt judgment, I thought it might consist with reason to have been less rigorous: that I could not swim a league, and probably the nearest land to theirs might be distant above an hundred: that many materials necessary for making a small vessel to carry me off, were wholly wanting in this country, which however I would attempt in obedience and gratitude to his honour, although I concluded the thing to be impossible, and therefore looked on myself as already devoted to destruction: that the certain prospect of an unnatural death was the least of my evils: for supposing I should escape with life by some strange adventure, how could I think with temper of passing my days among *yahoos*, and relapsing into my old corruptions, for want of examples to lead and keep me within the paths of virtue: that I knew too well, upon what solid reasons all the determinations of the wise Houyhnhnms were founded, not to be shaken by arguments of mine, a miserable *yahoo*; and therefore, after presenting him with my humble thanks for the offer of his servants assistance in making a vessel, and desiring a reasonable time for so difficult a work, I told him I would endeavour to preserve a wretched being; and if, ever I returned to England, was not without hopes of being useful to my own species, by celebrating the praises of the renowned Houyhnhnms, and proposing their virtues to the imitation of mankind.

My master, in a few words, made a very gracious reply, allowed me the space of two *months* to finish my boat, and ordered the sorrel-nag, my fellow-servant (for so at this distance I may presume to call him), to follow my instructions; because I told my master, that his help would be sufficient, and I knew he had a tenderness for me.

In his company, my first business was to go to that part of the coast, where my rebellious crew had ordered me to be set on shore. I got upon a height, and looking on every side into the sea, fancied I saw a small island towards the *north-east*: I took out my pocket-glass, and could

could then clearly distinguish it about five leagues off, as I computed; but it appeared to the sorrel-nag to be only a blue cloud: for as he had no conception of any country beside his own, so he could not be as expert in distinguishing remote objects at sea, as we who so much converse in that element.

After I had discovered this island, I considered no farther; but resolved, it should, if possible, be the first place of my banishment, leaving the consequence to fortune.

I returned home, and consulting with the sorrel-nag, we went into a copse at some distance, where I with my knife, and he with a short flint, fastened very artificially after their manner to a wooden handle, cut down several oak wattles, about the thickness of a walking-staff, and some larger pieces. But I shall not trouble the reader with a particular description of my own mechanics; let it suffice to say, that in six weeks time, with the help of the sorrel-nag, who performed the parts that required most labour, I finished a sort of Indian canoe, but much larger, covering it with the skins of *yahoos* well stitched together with hempen threads of my own making. My sail was likewise composed of the skins of the same animal; but I made use of the youngest I could get, the older being too tough and thick; and I likewise provided myself with four paddles. I laid in a stock of boiled flesh, of rabbits and fowls; and took with me two vessels, one filled with milk, and the other with water.

I tried my canoe in a large pond near my master's house, and then corrected in it what was amiss; stopping all the chinks with *yahoos* tallow, till I found it stanch, and able to bear me and my freight. And, when it was as complete as I could possibly make it, I had it drawn on a carriage very gently by *yahoos* to the sea-side, under the conduct of the sorrel-nag, and another servant.

When all was ready, and the day came for my departure, I took leave of my master and lady, and the whole family, mine eyes flowing with tears, and my heart quite sunk with grief. But his honour, out of curiosity, and perhaps (if I may speak it without vanity), partly out of kindness, was determined to see me in my canoe; and got several of his neighbouring friends to

accompany him. I was forced to wait above an hour for the tide, and then observing the wind very fortunately bearing towards the island to which I intended to steer my course, I took a second leave of my master: but, as I was going to prostrate myself to kiss his hoof, he did me the honour to raise it gently to my mouth. I am not ignorant how much I have been censured for mentioning this last particular. Detractors are pleased to think it improbable, that so illustrious a person should descend to give so great a mark of distinction to a creature so inferior as I. Neither have I forgotten how apt some travellers are to boast of extraordinary favours they have received. But, if these censurers were better acquainted with the noble and courteous disposition of the Houyhnhnms, they would soon change their opinion.

I paid my respects to the rest of the Houyhnhnms in his honour's company; then getting into my canoe, I pushed off from shore.

CHAP. XII

The author's dangerous voyage. He arrives at New-Holland, hoping to settle there. Is wounded with an arrow by one of the natives. Is seized and carried by force into a Portuguese ship. The great civilities of the captain. The author arrives at England.

I BEGAN this desperate voyage on February 15. 1714-15, at 9 o'clock in the morning. The wind was very favourable; however I made use at first only of my paddles; but considering I should soon be weary, and that the wind might chop about, I ventured to set up my little sail; and thus, with the help of the tide, I went at the rate of a league and a half an hour, as near as I could guess. My master and his friends continued on the shore, till I was almost out of sight; and I often heard the sorrel-nag (who always loved me) crying out, *hny illa nyha majah yahoo*, Take care of thyself gentle yahoo.

My design was, if possible, to discover some small island

island uninhabited, yet sufficient by my labour to furnish me with the necessaries of life, which I would have thought a greater happiness than to be first minister in the politest court of Europe; so horrible was the idea I conceived of returning to live in the society, and under the government of *yahoos*. For, in such a solitude as I desired, I could at least enjoy my own thoughts, and reflect with delight on the virtues of those inimitable Houyhnhnms, without any opportunity of degenerating into the vices and corruptions of my own species.

The reader may remember what I related, when my crew conspired against me, and confined me to my cabin: How I continued there several weeks without knowing what course we took; and when I was put ashore in the long-boat, how the sailors told me with oaths, whether true or false, that they knew not in what part of the world we were. However, I did then believe us to be about ten degrees southward of the Cape of Good Hope, or about 45 degrees southern latitude, as I gathered from some general words I overheard among them, being supposed to the south-east in their intended voyage to Madagascar. And although this were but little better than conjecture, yet I resolved to steer my course eastward, hoping to reach the south-west coast of New-Holland, and perhaps some such island as I desired lying westward of it. The wind was full west, and, by six in the evening, I computed I had gone eastward at least eighteen leagues; when I spied a very small island about half a league off, which I soon reached. It was nothing but a rock with one creek naturally arched by the force of tempests. Here I put in my canoe, and climbing a part of the rock, I could plainly discover land to the east, extending from south to north. I lay all night in my canoe; and repeating my voyage early in the morning, I arrived in seven hours at the south-east point of New-Holland. This confirmed me in the opinion I have long entertained, that the *maps* and *charts* place this country at least three degrees more to the east than it really is; which thought I communicated many years ago to my worthy friend, Mr. Herman Moll, and gave him my reasons for it, although he hath rather chosen to follow other authors.

I saw

I saw no inhabitants in the place where I landed, and being unarmed, I was afraid of venturing far into the country. I found some shell-fish on the shore, and eat them raw, not daring to kindle a fire for fear of being discovered by the natives. I continued three days feeding on oysters and limpets to save my own provisions; and I fortunately found a brook of excellent water, which gave me great relief.

On the fourth day, venturing out early a little too far, I saw twenty or thirty natives upon a height, not above five hundred yards from me. They were stark-naked, men, women, and children, round a fire, as I could discover by the smoke. One of them spied me, and gave notice to the rest; five of them advanced towards me, leaving the women and children at the fire. I made what haste I could to the shore, and getting into my canoe, shoved off: the savages observing me retreat, ran after me; and, before I could get far enough into the sea, discharged an arrow, which wounded me deeply on the inside of my left knee (I shall carry the mark to my grave). I apprehended the arrow might be poisoned, and paddling out of the reach of their darts (being a calm day) I made a shift to suck the wound, and dress it as well as I could.

I was at a loss what to do, for I durst not return to the same landing-place, but stood to the north, and was forced to paddle; for the wind, though very gentle, was against me, blowing north-west. As I was looking about for a secure landing-place, I saw a sail to the north north-east, which appearing every minute more visible, I was in some doubt whether I should wait for them or no; but at last my detestation of the *yahoo* race prevailed; and turning my canoe, I sailed and paddled together to the south, and got into the same creek from whence I set out in the morning, chusing rather to trust myself among these Barbarians, than live with European *yahoos*. I drew up my canoe as close as I could to the shore, and hid myself behind a stone by the little brook, which, as I have already said, was excellent water.

The ship came within half a league of this creek, and sent out her long-boat with vessels to take in fresh water (for the place, it seems, was very well known); but I did not observe it, till the boat was almost on shore; and it

was too late to seek another hiding-place. The seamen at their landing observed my canoe, and rummaging it all over, easily conjectured that the owner could not be far off. Four of them, well armed, searched every cranny and lurking-hole, till at last they found me flat on my face behind a stone. They gazed a while in admiration at my strange uncouth dress; my coat made of skins, my wooden soled shoes, and my furred stockings; from whence however they concluded, I was not a native of the place, who all go naked. One of the seamen, in Portuguese, bid me rise, and asked who I was. I understood that language very well, and getting upon my feet, said I was a poor *yahoo* banished from the Houyhnhnms, and desired they would please to let me depart. They admired to hear me answer them in their own tongue, and saw, by my complexion, I must be an European; but were at a loss to know what I meant by *yahoos* and Houyhnhnms, and at the same time fell a laughing at my strange tone in speaking, which resembled the neighing of a horse. I trembled all the while betwixt fear and hatred: I again desired leave to depart, and was gently moving to my canoe; but they laid hold on me, desiring to know, what country I was of? whence I came? with many other questions. I told them I was born in England, from whence I came about five years ago, and then their country and ours were at peace. I therefore hoped they would not treat me as an enemy, since I meant them no harm, but was a poor *yahoo* seeking some desolate place where to pass the remainder of his unfortunate life.

When they began to talk, I thought I never heard or saw any thing so unnatural; for it appeared to me as monstrous, as if a dog or cow should speak in English, or a *yahoo* in Houyhnhm-land. The honest Portuguese were equally amazed at my strange dress, and the odd manner of delivering my words, which however they understood very well. They spoke to me with great humanity, and said they were sure the captain would carry me *gratis* to Lisbon, from whence I might return to my own country: that two of the seamen would go back to the ship, inform the captain of what they had seen, and receive his orders; in the mean time, unless I would give
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my solemn oath not to fly, they would secure me by force. I thought it best to comply with their proposal. They were very curious to know my story, but I gave them very little satisfaction; and they all conjectured, that my misfortunes had impaired my reason. In two hours the boat, which went loaden with vessels of water, returned with the captain's command to fetch me on board. I fell on my knees to preserve my liberty, but all was in vain; and the men having tied me with cords, heaved me into the boat, from whence I was taken into the ship, and from thence into the captain's cal bin.

His name was Pedro de Mendez; he was a very courteous and generous person; he intreated me to give some account of myself, and desired to know what I would eat or drink; said I should be used as well as himself, and spoke so many obliging things, that I wondered to find such civilities from a *yahoo*. However, I remained silent and sullen; I was ready to faint at the very smell of him and his men. At last I desired something to eat out of my own canoe; but he ordered me a chicken, and some excellent wine, and then directed that I should be put to bed in a very clean cabbin. I would not undress myself, but lay on the bed-cloaths, and in half an hour stole out, when I thought the crew was at dinner, and getting to the side of the ship, was going to leap into the sea, and swim for my life, rather than continue among *yahoos*; but one of the seamen prevented me, and having informed the captain, I was chained to my cabbin.

After dinner, Don Pedro came to me, and desired to know my reason for so desperate an attempt; assured me, he only meant to do me all the service he was able, and spoke so very movingly, that at last I descended to treat him like an animal which had some little portion of reason. I gave him a very short relation of my voyage; of the conspiracy against me by my own men, of the country where they set me on shore, and of my five years residence there: All which he looked upon, as if it were a dream or a vision, whereat I took great offence; for I had quite forgot the faculty of lying, so peculiar to *yahoos* in all countries where they preside, and consequently the disposition of suspecting truth in others of their own species. I asked him, whether it were the custom in his country

country to *say the thing which was not*? I assured him, I had almost forgot what he meant by falsehood, and, if I had lived a thousand years in Houyhnhnm-land, I should never have heard a lye from the meanest servant; that I was altogether indifferent whether he believed me or no; but however, in return for his favours, I would give so much allowance to the corruption of his nature, as to answer any objection he would please to make, and then he might easily discover the truth.

The captain, a wise man, after many endeavours to catch me tripping in some part of my story, at last began to have a better opinion of my veracity. But he added, that, since I professed so inviolable an attachment to truth, I must give him my word and honour to bear him company in this voyage, without attempting any thing against my life, or else he would continue me a prisoner till we arrived at Lisbon. I gave him the promise he required; but at the same time protested, that I would suffer the greatest hardships, rather than return to live among *yahoos*.

Our voyage passed without any considerable accident. In gratitude to the captain, I sometimes sat with him at his earnest request, and strove to conceal my antipathy against human kind, although it often broke out; which he suffered to pass without observation. But the greatest part of the day I confined myself to my cabin, to avoid seeing any of the crew. The captain had often intreated me to strip myself of my savage dress, and offered to lend me the best suit of cloaths he had. This I would not be prevailed on to accept, abhorring to cover myself with any thing that had been on the back of a *yahoo*. I only desired he would lend me two clean shirts, which, having been washed since he wore them, I believed would not so much defile me. These I changed every second day, and washed them myself.

We arrived at Lisbon, Nov. 5. 1715. At our landing, the captain forced me to cover myself with his cloak, to prevent the rabble from crouding about me. I was conveyed to his own house; and at my earnest request he led me up to the highest room backwards. I conjured him to conceal from all persons what I had told him of the Houyhnhnms; because the least hint of such a story would

would not only draw numbers of people to see me, but probably put me in danger of being imprisoned or burnt by the *inquisition*. The captain persuaded me to accept a suit of cloaths newly made; but I would not suffer the taylor to take my measure. However, Don Pedro being almost of my size, they fitted me well enough. He accoutred me with other necessaries, all new, which I aired for twenty-four hours, before I would use them.

The captain had no wife, nor above three servants, none of which were suffered to attend at meals; and his whole deportment was so obliging, added to very good *human* understanding, that I really began to tolerate his company. He gained so far upon me, that I ventured to look out of the back window. By degrees I was brought into another room, from whence I peeped into the street, but drew my head back in a fright. In a week's time he seduced me down to the door. I found my terror gradually lessened, but my hatred and contempt seemed to increase. I was at last bold enough to walk the street in his company, but kept my nose well stopped with rue, or sometimes with tobacco.

In ten days, Don Pedro, to whom I had given some account of my domestic affairs, put it upon me as a matter of honour and conscience, that I ought to return to my native country, and live at home with my wife and children. He told me, there was an English ship in the port just ready to sail, and he would furnish me with all things necessary. It would be tedious to repeat his arguments, and my contradictions. He said it was altogether impossible to find such a solitary island as I had desired to live in; but I might command in my own house; and pass my time in a manner as recluse as I pleased.

I complied at last, finding I could not do better. I left Lisbon, the 24th day of Nov. in an English merchantman, but who was the master I never enquired. Don Pedro accompanied me to the ship, and lent me twenty pounds. He took kind leave of me, and embraced me at parting, which I bore as well as I could. During this last voyage, I had no commerce with the master, or any of his men; but pretending I was sick, kept close in my cabin. On the 5th of December 1715, we cast anchor in the Downs about nine in the morning, and at
three

three in the afternoon I got safe to my house at Rotherhithe.

My wife and family received me with great surprize and joy, because they concluded me certainly dead; but I must freely confess the sight of them filled me only with hatred, disgust, and contempt; and the more by reflecting on the near alliance I had to them. For although, since my unfortunate exile from the Houghnahn country, I had compelled myself to tolerate the sight of *yahoos*, and to converse with Don Pedro de Mendez, yet my memory and imagination were perpetually filled with the virtues and ideas of those exalted Houghnahnms. And when I began to consider, that, by copulating with one of the *yahoo*-species, I had become a parent of more, it struck me with the utmost shame, confusion, and horror.

As soon as I entered the house, my wife took me in her arms, and kissed me; at which, not having been used to the touch of that odious animal for so many years, I fell into a swoon for almost an hour. At the time I am writing, it is five years since my last return to England*: during the first year I could not endure my wife or children in my presence; the very smell of them was intolerable; much less could I suffer them to eat in the same room. To this hour they dare not presume to touch my bread, or drink out of the same cup; neither was I ever able to let them take me by the hand. The first money I laid out was to buy two young stone-horses, which I keep in a good stable, and next to them the groom is my greatest favourite; for I feel my spirits revived by the smell he contracts in the stable. My horses understand me tolerably well; I converse with them at least four hours every day. They are strangers to bridle or saddle; they live in great amity with me, and friendship to each other.

* This was intended as a mark, whereby the exact point of time, when Dr. Swift had finished this noble and grand performance, which, in the prophetic style of his friend Pope, will in future ages be the admiration of all men [vol. 8. p. 60.], should be known to posterity. *Swift.*

C H A P. XII*.

The author's veracity. His design in publishing this work. His censure of those travellers who swerve from the truth. The author clears himself from any sinister ends in writing. An objection answered. The method of planting colonies. His native country commended. The right of the crown to those countries described by the author, is justified. The difficulty of conquering them. The author takes his last leave of the reader; proposeth his manner of living for the future; gives good advice, and concludeth.

THUS, gentle reader, I have given thee a faithful history of my travels for sixteen years and above seven months; wherein I have not been so studious of ornament as of truth. I could perhaps, like others, have astonished thee with strange improbable tales; but I rather chose to relate plain matter of fact in the simplest manner and style; because my principal design was to inform, and not to amuse thee.

It is easy for us who travel into remote countries, which are seldom visited by Englishmen, or other Europeans, to form descriptions of wonderful animals both at sea and land. Whereas a traveller's chief aim should be to make men wiser and better, and to improve their minds by the bad, as well as good examples, of what they deliver concerning foreign places.

* I must confess, in the spirit of candour and sincerity, that I heartily wish this 12th chapter, which is, without exception, the dullest piece (at least that I can remember) in his whole writings, were either burnt or annihilated. This, indeed, like the rest of his critics, I could easily have passed over uncensured; perhaps they never observed it: and yet all that I mean by this gentle severity (for I despise the reputation of a little censuring critic), is, to shew the world, that I would scorn to approve, through thick and thin, the works of the most approved, consummate genius, in despite to that little knowledge which I have endeavoured to acquire, as a direction to my own taste and judgment, *Swift.*

I could heartily wish a law was enacted, that every traveller, before he were permitted to publish his voyages, should be obliged to make oath before the Lord high Chancellor, that all he intended to print was absolutely true to the best of his knowledge; for then the world would no longer be deceived, as it usually is; while some writers, to make their works pass the better upon the public, impose the grossest falsities on the unwary reader. I have perused several books of travels with great delight in my younger days; but having since gone over most parts of the globe, and been able to contradict many fabulous accounts from my own observation, it hath given me a great disgust against this part of reading, and some indignation to see the credulity of mankind so impudently abused. Therefore, since my acquaintances were pleased to think my poor endeavours might not be unacceptable to my country, I imposed on myself as a maxim never to be swerved from, that I would *strictly adhere to truth*; neither indeed can I be ever under the least temptation to vary from it, while I retain in my mind the lectures and example of my noble master, and the other illustrious Houyhnhnms, of whom I had so long the honour to be an humble hearer.

—*Nec si miseram fortuna Sinonem*

Finxit, vanum etiam, mendacemque, improba finger.

I know very well how little reputation is to be got by writings, which require neither genius nor learning, nor indeed any other talent, except a good memory, or an exact *journal*. I know likewise, that writers of travels, like *dictionary-makers*, are sunk into oblivion, by the weight and bulk of those who came last, and therefore lie uppermost. And it is highly probable, that such travellers, who shall hereafter visit the countries described in this work of mine, may, by detecting my errors (if there be any), and adding many new discoveries of their own, juggle me out of vogue, and stand in my place, making the world forget that ever I was an author. This indeed would be too great a mortification, if I wrote for fame: but as my sole intention was the *public good*, I cannot be altogether disappointed. For who can read of the virtues I have mentioned in the glorious Houyhnhnms without being ashamed of his own vices, when he consi-

ders himself as the reasoning, governing animal of his country? I shall say nothing of those remote nations, where *yahoos* preside; amongst which the least corrupted are the Brobdingnagians, whose wise maxims in morality and government it would be our happiness to observe. But I forbear descanting farther, and rather leave the judicious reader to his own remarks and applications.

I am not a little pleased, that this work of mine can possibly meet with no censurers: for what objection can be made against a writer, who relates only plain facts, that happened in such distant countries, where we have not the least interest with respect either to trade or negotiations? I have carefully avoided every fault, with which common writers of travels are often too justly charged. Besides, I meddle not the least with any party, but write without passion, prejudice, or ill-will against any man, or number of men whatsoever. I write for the noblest end, to inform and instruct mankind, over whom I may, without breach of modesty, pretend to some superiority, from the advantages I received by conversing so long among the most accomplished Houyhnhnms. I write without any view towards profit or praise. I never suffer a word to pass, that may look like reflection, or possibly give the least offence, even to those who are most ready to take it. So that I hope, I may with justice pronounce myself an author perfectly blameless; against whom the tribes of answerers, considerers, observers, reflecters, detecters, remarkers, will never be able to find matter for exercising their talents.

I confess, it was whispered to me, that I was bound in duty, as a subject of England, to have given in a memorial to a secretary of state at my first coming over; because, whatever lands are discovered by a subject, belong to the crown. But I doubt whether our conquests, in the countries I treat of, would be as easy as those of Ferdinando Cortez over the naked Americans. The Lilliputians, I think, are hardly worth the charge of a fleet and army to reduce them; and I question whether it might be prudent or safe to attempt the Brobdingnagians: Or whether an English army would be much at their ease with the flying island over their heads. The Houyhnhnms, indeed, appear not to be so well prepared
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for war, a science to which they are perfect strangers, and especially against missile weapons. However, supposing myself to be a minister of state, I could never give my advice for invading them. Their prudence, unanimity, unacquaintedness with fear, and their love of their country, would amply supply all defects in the military art. Imagine twenty thousand of them breaking into the midst of an European army, confounding the ranks, overturning the carriages, battering the warriors' faces into mummy by terrible jerks from their hinder-hoofs; for they would well deserve the character given to Augustus: *recalcitrat undique tutus*. But instead of proposals for conquering that magnanimous nation, I rather wish they were in a capacity, or disposition, to send a sufficient number of their inhabitants for civilizing Europe, by teaching us the first principles of honour, justice, truth, temperance, public spirit, fortitude, chastity, friendship, benevolence, and fidelity: The *names* of all which virtues are still retained among us in most languages, and are to be met with in modern, as well as ancient authors; which I am able to assert from my own small reading.

But I had another reason, which made me less forward to enlarge his majesty's dominions by my discoveries: To say the truth, I had conceived a few scruples with relation to the distributive justice of princes upon those occasions. For instance, a crew of pirates are driven by a storm, they know not whither; at length a boy discovers land from the top-mast; they go on shore to rob and plunder; they see an harmless people, are entertained with kindness; they give the country a new name; they take formal possession of it for their king; they set up a rotten plank or a stone for a memorial; they murder two or three dozen of the natives, bring away a couple more by force for a sample, return home, and get their pardon. Here commences a new dominion, acquired with a title by *divine right*. Ships are sent with the first opportunity; the natives driven out or destroyed; their princes tortured to discover their gold; a free licence given to all acts of humanity and lust; the earth reeking with the blood of its inhabitants: and this execrable crew of butchers employed in so pious an expedition, is a *modern colony*,

sent to convert and civilize an idolatrous and barbarous people.

But this description, I confess, doth by no means affect the British nation, who may be an example to the whole world, for the wisdom, care, and justice in planting colonies; their liberal endowments for the advancement of religion and learning; their choice of devout and able pastors to propagate *christianity*; their caution in stocking their provinces with people of sober lives and conversations, from this the mother kingdom; their strict regard to the distribution of justice, in supplying the civil administration through all their colonies with officers of the greatest abilities, utter strangers to corruption; and to crown all, by sending the most vigilant and virtuous governors, who have no other views than the happiness of the people over whom they preside, and the honour of the King their master.

But as those countries, which I have described, do not appear to have any desire of being conquered, and enslaved, murdered or driven out by colonies; nor abound either in gold, silver, sugar, or tobacco; I did humbly conceive, they were by no means proper objects of our zeal, our valour, or our interest. However, if those, whom it more concerns, think it fit to be of another opinion, I am ready to depose, when I shall be lawfully called, that no European did ever visit these countries before me: I mean, if the inhabitants ought to be believed; unless a dispute may arise, concerning the two *yahoos* said to have been seen many ages ago upon a mountain in Houyhnhnm-land.

But, as to the formality of taking possession in my sovereign's name, it never came once into my thoughts; and if it had, yet, as my affairs then stood, I should perhaps in point of prudence and self-preservation have put it off to a better opportunity.

Having thus answered the only objection that can ever be raised against me as a traveller; I here take a final leave of all my courteous readers, and return to enjoy my own speculations in my little garden at Redriff; to apply those excellent lessons of virtue which I learned among the Houyhnhnms; to instruct the *yahoos* of my own family, as far as I shall find them docible animals;

to behold my figure often in a glass, and thus, if possible, habituate myself by time to tolerate the sight of a human creature : to lament the brutality of Houyhnhnms in my own country, but always treat their persons with respect for the sake of my noble master, his family, his friends, and the whole Houyhnhnm-race, whom these of ours have the honour to resemble in all their lineaments, however their intellectuals came to degenerate.

I began last week to permit my wife to sit at dinner with me at the farthest end of a long table ; and to answer (but with the utmost brevity) the few questions I asked her. Yet, the smell of a *yahoo* continuing very offensive, I always kept my nose well stopped with rue, lavender, or tobacco-leaves. And, although it be hard for a man late in life to remove old habits, I am not altogether out of hopes in some time to suffer a neighbour *yahoo* in my company, without the apprehensions I am yet under of his teeth or his claws.

My reconciliation to the *yahoo*-kind in general, might not be so difficult, if they would be content with those vices and follies only which nature hath intitled them to. I am not in the least provoked at the sight of a lawyer, a pick-pocket, a colonel, a fool, a lord, a gamester, a politician, a whore-monger, a physician, an evidence, a suborner, an attorney, a traitor, or the like : this is all according to the due course of things ; but when I behold a lump of deformity and diseases, both in body and mind, smitten with *pride*, it immediately breaks all the measures of my patience ; neither shall I be ever able to comprehend how such an animal, and such a vice, could tally together. The wise and virtuous Houyhnhnms, who abound in all excellencies that can adorn a rational creature, have no name for this vice in their language, which hath no terms to express any thing that is evil, except those whereby they describe the detestable qualities of their *yahoos*, among which they were not able to distinguish this of pride, for want of thoroughly understanding human nature, as it sheweth itself in other countries where that animal presides : But I, who had more experience, could plainly observe some rudiments of it among the wild *yahoos*.

But the Houyhnhnms, who live under the government of reason,

reason, are no more proud of the good qualities they possess, than I should be for not wanting a leg or an arm, which no man in his wits would boast of, although he must be miserable without them. I dwell the longer upon this subject, from the desire I have to make the society of an English *yahoo* by any means not insupportable; and therefore I here intreat those, who have any tincture of this absurd vice, that they will not presume to come in my sight.

* * To mortify pride, which indeed was not made for man, and produces not only the most ridiculous follies, but the most extensive calamity, appears to have been one general view of the author in every part of these travels. Personal strength and beauty, the wisdom and the virtue of mankind, become objects, not of pride, but of humility, in the diminutive stature and contemptible weakness of the Lilliputians; in the horrid deformity of the Brobdingnagians; in the learned folly of the Laputians; and in the parallel drawn between our manners and those of the Houyhnhnms. *Hawkes.*

Swift's Gulliver is a direct, plain, and bitter satire, against the innumerable follies and corruptions in law, politics, learning, morals, and religion. And without dispute these manifold corruptions have, in a course of ages, by the refinements and glosses of iniquitous men, arrived at last to such strength and effrontery, as to render it impossible for all the wit and genius that ever warmed the imagination of a satirist, to lash them with any degree of severity proportioned to that excess of perturbation and mischief which they severally occasion in the great circle of society. All therefore, which can be done by a wise man (seeing that by nature he is appointed to act, for the space of thirty, fifty, or seventy years, some ridiculous silly part in this fantastic theatre of misery, vice, and corruption), is either to lament, with Heraclitus, the iniquities of the world; or, which is the more chearful, and therefore I do presume the more eligible course, to laugh with Democritus, at all the knaves and fools upon earth. And accordingly we find, that Dr. Swift has, in these travels, exerted a sort of ridicule and satire, pointed so directly against the depravities of human kind, and supported with such an abundance of wit and pleasantry, as indeed more than persuade us to believe, that his intention was either to laugh vice and immorality, if it were possible, quite out of the world; or at least to avenge the cause of virtue on all the patrons or abettors of iniquity. *Swift.* A

A TRITICAL ESSAY upon the FACULTIES of the MIND *.

To————

SIR,

BEING so great a lover of antiquities, it was reasonable to suppose you would be very much obliged with any thing that was new. I have been of late offended with many writers of essays and moral discourses, for running into stale topics and thread-bare quotations, and not handling their subject fully and closely: all which errors I have carefully avoided in the following essay, which I have proposed for a pattern for young writers to imitate. The thoughts and observations being entirely new, the quotations untouched by others, the subject of mighty importance, and treated with much order and perspicuity, it hath cost me a great deal of time; and I desire you will accept and consider it as the utmost effort of my genius.

Philosophers say, that man is a microcosm, or little world, resembling in miniature every part of the

* This essay will make you smile. *Orrery.*

In this piece the spirit of ridicule is very highly displayed. The author gravely pretends, that this subject is of mighty importance; that his sentiments are entirely new; that his quotations are untouched by others; and, above all, that he has treated his subject with much order, fulness, and perspicuity: on which account he hath proposed it as a pattern for young writers to imitate, and desires it may be considered as the utmost effort of his genius. Whereas, in fact, the subject is of little importance, the sentiments are old and stale, the quotations are thread-bare; and, to complete his ridicule, he has treated his subject in a light, careless, rambling, superficial manner, without order, fulness, meaning, or perspicuity: and therefore it is only to be considered, like the *Meditation on a broomstick*, [vol. 5. p. 372.] in a farcical, satiric light, designed purely to expose the folly and temerity of those brainless, illiterate scribblers, who are eternally plaguing their cotemporaries with a parcel of wild incoherent, nonsensical trash. *Swift.*

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great; and, in my opinion, the body natural may be compared to the body politic: and if this be so, how can the Epicurean's opinion be true, that the universe was formed by a fortuitous concurrence of atoms; which I will no more believe, than that the accidental jumbling of the letters of the alphabet could fall by chance into a most ingenious and learned treatise of philosophy. *Risum teneatis amici?* [HOR.] This false opinion must needs create many more; it is like an error in the first concoction, which cannot be corrected in the second; the foundation is weak, and whatever superstructure you raise upon it, must of necessity fall to the ground. Thus men are led from one error to another, until with Ixion they embrace a cloud instead of Juno; or, like the dog in the fable, lose the substance in gaping at the shadow: For such opinions cannot cohere; but like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image, must separate and break in pieces. I have read in a certain author, that Alexander wept, because he had no more worlds to conquer; which he needed not have done, if the fortuitous concurrence of atoms could create one; but this is an opinion fitter for that many-headed beast the vulgar to entertain, than for so wise a man as Epicurus; the corrupt part of his sect only borrowed his name, as the monkey did the cat's claw to draw the chestnut out of the fire.

However, the first step to the cure is to know the disease; and though truth may be difficult to find, because, as the philosopher observes, she lives in the bottom of a well, yet we need not, like blind men, grope in open day-light. I hope I may be allowed among so many far more learned men to offer my mite, since a stander-by may sometimes perhaps see more of the game, than he that plays it. But I do not think a philosopher obliged to account for every phenomenon in nature, or drown himself with Aristotle, for not being able to solve the ebbing and flowing of the tide, in that fatal sentence he past upon himself, *Quia te non capio, tu capies me.* Wherein he was at once the judge and the criminal, the accuser and executioner. Socrates, on the other hand, who said he knew nothing, was pronounced by the oracle to be the wisest man in the world.

But to return from this digression, I think it as clear

as any demonstration in Euclid, that nature does nothing in vain ; if we were able to dive into her secret recesses, we should find that the smallest blade of grass, or most contemptible weed, has its particular use : but she is chiefly admirable in her minutest compositions ; the least and most contemptible insect most discovers the art of nature, if I may so call it ; though nature which delights in variety, will always triumph over art : and as the poet observes,

Naturam expellas furca licet, usque recurret. HOR.

But the various opinions of philosophers, have scattered through the world as many plagues of the mind as Pandora's box did those of the body, only with this difference, that they have not left hope at the bottom. And if truth be not fled with Aftrea, she is certainly as hidden as the source of Nile, and can be found only in Utopia. Not that I would reflect on those wise sages, which would be a sort of ingratitude ; and he that calls a man ungrateful, sums up all the evil that a man can be guilty of,

Ingratum si dixeris, omnia dicis.

But what I blame the philosophers for (though some may think it a paradox), is chiefly their pride ; nothing less than an *ipse dixit*, and you must pin your faith on their sleeve. And though Diogenes lived in a tub, there might be, for aught I know, as much pride under his rags, as in the fine-spun garment of the divine Plato. It is reported of this Diogenes, that when Alexander came to see him, and promised to give him whatever he would ask, the cynic only answered, *Take not from me what thou canst not give me, but stand from between me and the light* ; which was almost as extravagant, as the philosopher that flung his money into the sea, with this remarkable saying —

How different was this man from the usurer, who being told his son would spend all he had got, replied, *He cannot take more pleasure in spending, than I did in getting it.* These men could see the faults of each other, but not their own ; those they flung into the bag behind ; *non videmus id manticae quod in tergo est* *. I may perhaps

* Alluding to the fable of Phædrus, that Jupiter had hung over

perhaps be censured for my free opinions by those carping Mœmus's, whom authors worship as the Indians do the devil, for fear. They will endeavour to give my reputation as many wounds as the man in the almanack; but I value it not; and perhaps, like flies, they may buz so often about the candle, till they burn their wings. They must pardon me, if I venture to give them this advice, not to rail at what they cannot understand: it does but discover that self-tormenting passion of envy, than which the greatest tyrant never invented a more cruel torment.

Invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni

Tormentum majus —

JUV.

I must be so bold to tell my critics and wittings, that they can no more judge of this, than a man that is born blind can have any true idea of colours. I have always observed that your empty vessels sound loudest: I value their lashes as little as the sea did those of Xerxes, when he whipped it †. The utmost favour a man can expect from them is, that which Polyphemus promised Ulysses, that he would devour him the last: they think to subdue a writer as Cæsar did his enemy, with a *veni, vidi, vici*. I confess I value the opinion of the judicious few, a Rymer, a Dennis, or a W——k; but for the rest, to give my judgment at once, I think the long dispute among the philosophers about a *vacuum* may be determined in the affirmative, that it is to be found in a critic's head. They are at best but the drones of the learned world, who devour the honey, and will not work themselves; and a writer need no more regard them, than the moon does the barking of a little senseless cur. For, in spite of their terrible roaring, you may with half an eye discover the *ass* under the *lion's* skin.

But to return to our discourse: Demosthenes being asked what was the first part of an orator, replied, *action*:

over every man's shoulder two satchels, of which one hung before, and contained the faults of his neighbour; and the other behind, which contained his own.

† It is told of Xerxes, that when the sea broke down the bridge of boats, which he had laid over the Hellespont, he ordered it to be lashed, and fetters to be thrown into it.

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what was the second, *action*: what was the third, *action*: and so on *ad infinitum*. This may be true in oratory; but contemplation in other things exceeds action. And therefore a wise man is never less alone, than when he is alone:

Nunquam minus solus, quam cum solus.

And Archimedes, the famous mathematician, was so intent upon his problems, that he never minded the soldier who came to kill him. Therefore, not to detract from the just praise that belongs to orators, they ought to consider that nature, which give us two eyes to see, and two ears to hear, has given us but one tongue to speak, wherein however some do so abound, that the virtuosi, who have been so long in search for the perpetual motion, may infallibly find it there.

Some men admire republics, because orators flourish there most, and are the great enemies of tyranny: but my opinion is, that one tyrant is better than a hundred. Besides, these orators inflame the people, whose anger is really but a short fit of madness.

Ira furor brevis est. — HOR.

After which, laws are like cobwebs, which may catch small flies, but let wasps and hornets break through. But in oratory the greatest art is to hide art.

Artis est celare artem.

But this must be the work of time; we must lay hold on all opportunities, and let slip no occasion, else we shall be forced to weave Penelope's web, unravel in the night what we spun in the day. And therefore I have observed, that time is painted with a lock before, and bald behind, signifying thereby, that we must take time (as we say) by the forelock, for when it is once past, there is no recalling it.

The mind of man is at first (if you will pardon the expression) like a *tabula rasa*, or like wax, which, while it is soft, is capable of any impression, till time has hardened it. And at length death, that grim tyrant, stops us in the midst of our career. The greatest conquerors have at last been conquered by death, which spares none, from the sceptre to the spade.

Mors omnibus communis.

All rivers go to the sea, but none return from it.

Xerxes wept when he beheld his army, to consider that, in less than an hundred years they would be all dead : Anacreon was choaked with a grape-stone ; and violent joy kills as well as violent grief. There is nothing in this world constant, but inconstancy ; yet Plato thought, that if virtue would appear to the world in her own native dress, all men would be enamoured with her. But now, since interest governs the world, and men neglect the golden mean, Jupiter himself, if he came on the earth, would be despised, unless it were, as he did to Danae, in a golden shower : for we now-a-days worship the rising sun, and not the setting.

Donec eris felix multos numerabis amicos.

Thus have I, in obedience to your commands, ventured to expose myself to censure in this critical age. Whether I have done right to my subject, must be left to the judgment of the learned reader : however, I cannot but hope, that my attempting of it may be an encouragement for some able pen to perform it with more success.

PREDICTIONS

PREDICTIONS for the year 1708*.

Wherein the month, and day of the month, are set down, the persons named, and the great actions and events of next year particularly related, as they will come to pass.

Written to prevent the people of England from being farther imposed on by the vulgar almanack-makers.

By ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esq.

I HAVE long considered the gross abuse of astrology in this kingdom, and upon debating the matter with myself, I could not possibly lay the fault upon the art, but

* It is said, that the author, when he had writ this paper, and being at a loss what name to prefix to it, passing through Long-acre, observed a sign over a house where a locksmith dwelt, and found the name *Bickerstaff* written under it: which being a name somewhat uncommon, he chose to call himself *Isaac Bickerstaff*. This name was some time afterwards made use of by Sir Richard Steele, and Mr. Addison, in the *Tatlers*; in which papers, as well as many of the *Spectators*, it is well known, that the author had a considerable part. *Dub. edit.*

The papers which relate to Partridge the almanack-maker, are entirely humorous: and although they are not only temporary but local; yet, by an art peculiar to Swift himself, they are rendered immortal, so as to be read with pleasure, as long as the English language subsists. *Orrery.*

In the papers relating to Partridge the almanack-maker, those who have a taste for mirth and humour, will find abundance of entertainment. They are designed as a ridicule upon all that foolish tribe, who set up for astrologers, and without one rag of learning are great pretenders to science. The elegy on Partridge [in vol 6: p. 84.] can never be sufficiently relished by those who are unacquainted with these whimsical tracts. However, it is a point worth observing, that upon all occasions Dr. Swift remembered the fanati-

but upon those gross impostors, who set up to be the artists. I know several learned men have contended, that the whole is a cheat; that it is absurd and ridiculous to imagine, the stars can have any influence at all upon human actions, thoughts, or inclinations; and whoever hath not bent his studies that way, may be excused for thinking so, when he sees in how wretched a manner that noble art is treated by a few mean illiterate traders between us and the stars; who import a yearly stock of nonsense, lyes, folly, and impertinence, which they offer to the world as genuine from the planets, though they descend from no greater a height than their own brains.

I intend in a short time to publish a large and rational defence of this art, and therefore shall say no more in its justification at present, than that it hath been in all ages defended by many learned men, and among the rest by Socrates himself, whom I look upon as undoubtedly the wisest of uninspired mortals; to which if we add, that those who have condemned this art, though otherwise learned, having been such as either did not apply their studies this way, or at least did not succeed in their applications; their testimony will not be of much weight to its disadvantage, since they are liable to the common objection of condemning what they did not understand.

Nor am I at all offended, or do I think it an injury to the art, when I see the common dealers in it, the *students in astrology*, the *philomaths*, and the rest of that tribe, treated by wise men with the utmost scorn and contempt; but I rather wonder, when I observe gentlemen in the country, rich enough to serve the nation in parliament, poring into Partridge's almanack, to find out the events of the year, at home and abroad; not daring to propose a hunting match, till Gadbury or he have fixed the weather.

I will allow either of the two I have mentioned, or any other of the fraternity, to be not only astrologers, but conjurers too, if I do not produce a hundred instances in

cal party; neither would he allow a poor cobbler, starmonger, and quack, to go out of the world, until, upon his deathbed, he had declared himself a nonconformist, and had a fanatic preacher to be his spiritual guide. *Swift.*

all their almanacks to convince any reasonable man, that they do not so much as understand common grammar and syntax; that they are not able to spell any word out of the usual road, nor even in their prefaces to write common sense or intelligible English. Then for their observations and predictions, they are such as will equally suit any age or country in the world. *This month a certain great person will be threatened with death or sickness.* This the news-papers will tell them; for there we find at the end of the year, that no month passes without the death of some person of note; and it would be hard, if it should be otherwise, when there are at least two thousand persons of note in this kingdom, many of them old, and the almanack-maker has the liberty of chusing the sickliest season of the year, where he may fix his prediction. Again, *this month an eminent clergyman will be preferred;* of which there may be some hundreds, half of them with one foot in the grave. Then, *such a planet in such a house, shews great machinations, plots and conspiracies, that may in time be brought to light:* after which, if we hear of any discovery, the astrologer gets the honour; if not, his prediction still stands good. And at last, *God preserve King William from all his open and secret enemies, Amen.* When, if the King should happen to have died, the astrologer plainly foretold it; otherwise it passeth but for the pious ejaculation of a loyal subject: though it unluckily happened in some of their almanacks, that poor King William was prayed for many months after he was dead, because it fell out, that he died about the beginning of the year.

To mention no more of their impertinent predictions, what have we to do with their advertisements about *pills and drink for the venereal disease?* or their mutual quarrels in verse and prose of Whig and Tory, wherewith the stars have little to do?

Having long observed and lamented these, and a hundred other abuses of this art, too tedious to repeat, I resolved to proceed in a new way, which I doubt not will be to the general satisfaction of the kingdom: I can this year produce but a specimen of what I design for the future; having employed most part of my time in adjusting and correcting the calculations I made some years past,

because I would offer nothing to the world, of which I am not as fully satisfied, as that I am now alive. For these two last years, I have not failed in above one or two particulars, and those of no very great moment. I exactly foretold the miscarriage at Toulon, with all its particulars, and the loss of Admiral Shovel; though I was mistaken as to the day, placing that accident about thirty-six hours sooner than it happened; but upon reviewing my schemes, I quickly found the cause of that error. I likewise foretold the battle of Almanza to the very day and hour, with the loss on both sides, and the consequences thereof. All which I shewed to some friends many months before they happened, that is, I gave them papers sealed up, to open at such a time, after which they were at liberty to read them; and there they found my predictions true in every article, except one or two very minute.

As for the few following predictions I now offer the world, I forebore to publish them, till I had perused the several almanacks for the year we are now entered upon. I found them all in the usual strain, and I beg the reader will compare their manner with mine: and here I make bold to tell the world, that I lay the whole credit of my art upon the truth of these predictions; and I will be content, that Patridge, and the rest of his clan, may hoot me for a cheat and impostor, if I fail in any single particular of moment. I believe, any man who reads this paper, will look upon me to be at least a person of as much honesty and understanding, as a common maker of almanacks. I do not lurk in the dark; I am not wholly unknown in the world; I have set my name at length, to be a mark of infamy to mankind, if they shall find I deceive them.

In one point I must desire to be forgiven, that I talk more sparingly of home-affairs: as it would be imprudence to discover secrets of state, so it might be dangerous to my person; but in smaller matters, and such as are not of public consequence, I shall be very free; and the truth of my conjectures will as much appear from these as the other. As for the most signal events abroad, in France, Flanders, Italy and Spain, I shall make no scruple to predict them in plain terms: some of them are
of

of importance, and I hope I shall seldom mistake the day they will happen ; therefore, I think good to inform the reader, that I all along make use of the *old style*, observed in England, which I desire he will compare with that of the news-papers, at the time they relate the actions I mention.

I must add one word more ; I know it hath been the opinion of several learned persons, who think well enough of the true art of astrology, that the stars do only *incline*, and not *force* the actions or wills of men : and therefore, however I may proceed by right rules, yet I cannot in prudence so confidently assure the events will follow exactly as I predict them.

I hope I have naturally considered this objection, which in some cases is of no little weight. For example : a man may, by the influence of an over-ruling planet, be disposed or inclined to lust, rage or avarice, and yet by the force of reason overcome that evil influence ; and this was the case of Socrates * : but the great events of the world usually depending upon numbers of men, it cannot be expected they should all unite to cross their inclinations, for pursuing a general design, wherein they unanimously agree. Besides, the influence of the stars reaches to many actions and events, which are not any way in the power of reason ; as sickness, death, and what we commonly call accidents, with many more needs to repeat.

But now it is time to proceed to my predictions, which I have begun to calculate from the time that the *sun* enters into Aries. And this I take to be properly the beginning of the natural year. I pursue them to the time that he enters Libra, or somewhat more, which is the busy period of the year. The remainder I have not yet

* A physiognomist being brought by Socrates's scholars, to examine the features of their master, pronounced him, according to the rules of art, passionate, intemperate, and libidinous ; and when he was reproached and derided by them for a judgment so remote from the truth, Socrates rescued him from their insult, by declaring, that his natural disposition was such as had been described, before it was corrected by the study of philosophy.

Hawkes.

adjusted, upon account of several impediments needless here to mention : besides, I must remind the reader again, that this is but a specimen of what I design in succeeding years to treat more at large, if I may have liberty and encouragement.

My first prediction is but a trifle; yet I will mention it, to shew how ignorant those sottish pretenders to astrology are in their own concerns : it relates to Partridge the almanack-maker ; I have consulted the star of his nativity by my own rules, and find he will infallibly die upon the 29th of March next, about eleven at night, of a raging fever ; therefore I advise him to consider of it, and settle his affairs in time.

The month of April will be observable for the death of many great persons. On the 4th will die the cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris : on the 11th, the young Prince of Asturias, son to the Duke of Anjou : on the 14th, a great *peer* of this realm will die at his country-house : on the 19th, an old *layman* of great fame for learning : and on the 23d, an eminent goldsmith in Lombard-street. I could mention others, both at home and abroad, if I did not consider such events of very little use or instruction to the reader, or to the world :

As to public affairs : on the 7th of this month there will be an insurrection in Dauphiny, occasioned by the oppression of the people, which will not be quieted in some months.

On the 15th, will be a violent storm on the south-east coast of France, which will destroy many of their ships, and some in the very harbour.

The 19th will be famous for the revolt of a whole province or kingdom, excepting one city, by which the affairs of a certain Prince in the alliance will take a better face.

May, against common conjectures, will be no very busy month in Europe, but very signal for the death of the Dauphin, which will happen on the 7th, after a short fit of sickness, and grievous torments with the strangury. He dies less lamented by the court than the kingdom.

On the 9th, a *mareschal* of France will break his leg
by

by a fall from his horse. I have not been able to discover whether he will then die or not.

On the 11th, will begin a most important siege, which the eyes of all Europe will be upon: I cannot be more particular: for in relating affairs that so nearly concern the *confederates*, and consequently this kingdom, I am forced to confine myself, for several reasons very obvious to the reader.

On the 15th, news will arrive of a very *surprizing event*, than which nothing could be more unexpected.

On the 19th, three noble ladies of this kingdom will, against all expectation, prove with child, to the great joy of their husbands.

On the 23d, a famous buffoon of the play-house will die a ridiculous death, suitable to his vocation.

June. This month will be distinguished at home, by the utter dispersing of those ridiculous deluded enthusiasts, commonly called the Prophets; occasioned chiefly by seeing the time come, when many of their prophecies should be fulfilled, and then finding themselves deceived by contrary events. It is indeed to be admired, how any deceiver can be so weak to fortel things near at hand, when a very few months must of necessity discover the imposture to all the world; in this point less prudent than common almanack-makers, who are so wise to wander in generals, and talk dubiously, and leave to the reader the business of interpreting.

On the 1st of this month, a French general will be killed by a random shot of a cannon-ball.

On the 6th, a fire will break out in the suburbs of Paris, which will destroy above a thousand houses; and seems to be the foreboding of what will happen, to the surprize of all Europe, about the end of the following month.

On the 10th, a great battle will be fought, which will begin at four of the clock in the afternoon, and last till nine at night with great obstinacy, but no very decisive event. I shall not name the place, for the reasons aforesaid; but the commanders on each left-wing will be killed — I see bonfires, and hear the noise of guns for a victory.

On the 14th, there will be a false report of the French king's death.

On

On the 20th, cardinal Portocarero will die of a dysentery, with great suspicion of poison ; but the report of his intention to revolt to king Charles will prove false.

July. The 6th of this month, a *certain general* will, by a glorious action, recover the reputation he lost by former misfortunes.

On the 12th, a *great commander* will die a prisoner in the hands of his enemies.

On the 14th, a shameful discovery will be made, of a French jesuit giving poison to a great foreign general ; and when he is put to the torture, he will make wonderful discoveries.

In short, this will prove a month of great action, if I might have liberty to relate the particulars.

At home, the death of an old famous senator will happen, on the 15th, at his country-house, worn with age and diseases.

But that which will make this month memorable to all posterity, is the death of the French king, Lewis the fourteenth, after a week's sickness at Marli, which will happen on the 29th, about six o'clock in the evening. It seems to be an effect of the gout in his stomach, followed by a flux. And in three days after, monsieur Chamillard will follow his master, dying suddenly of an apoplexy.

In this month likewise an Ambassador will die in London ; but I cannot assign the day.

August. The affairs of France will seem to suffer no change for a while under the Duke of Burgundy's administration ; but the genius that animated the whole machine being gone, will be the cause of mighty turns and revolutions in the following year. The new king makes yet little change either in the army or the ministry ; but the libels against his grand-father, that fly about his very court, give him uneasiness.

I see an express in mighty haste, with joy and wonder in his looks, arriving by break of day on the 26th of this month, having travelled in three days a prodigious journey by land and sea. In the evening I hear bells and guns, and see the blazing of a thousand bonfires.

A young admiral of noble birth does likewise this month gain immortal honour by a great achievement.

The affairs of Poland are this month entirely settled :

Augustus

Augustus resigns his pretensions, which he had again taken up for some time : Stanislau is peaceably possessed of the throne ; and the king of Sweden declares for the Emperor.

I cannot omit one particular accident here at home ; that, near the end of this month, much mischief will be done at Bartholomew fair, by the fall of a booth.

September. This month begins with a very surprizing fit of frosty weather, which will last near twelve days.

The Pope having long languished last month, the swellings in his legs breaking, and the flesh mortifying, will die on the 11th instant : and in three weeks time, after a mighty contest, be succeeded by a cardinal of the *imperial* faction, but a native of Tuscany, who is now about sixty one years old.

The French army acts now wholly on the defensive, strongly fortified in their trenches ; and the young French king sends overtures for a treaty of peace by the duke of Mantua ; which, because it is a matter of state that concerns us here at home, I shall speak no farther of.

I shall add but one prediction more, and that in mystical terms, which shall be included in a verse out of Virgil.

*Alter erit jam Tethys, et altera quæ vebat Argo
Delectos heroas.*

Upon the 25th day of this month, the fulfilling of this prediction will be manifest to every body.

This is the farthest I have proceeded in my calculations for the present year. I do not pretend that these are all the great events which will happen in this period, but that those I have set down will infallibly come to pass. It will perhaps still be objected, why I have not spoke more particularly of affairs at home, or of the success of our armies abroad, which I might, and could very largely have done ; but those in power have wisely discouraged men from meddling in public concerns, and I was resolved by no means to give the least offence. This I will venture to say, that it will be a glorious campaign for the Allies, wherein the English forces, both by sea and land, will have their full share of honour : that her majesty Queen ANNE will continue in health and prosperity ; and that no ill accident will arrive to any in the chief ministry.

As

As to the particular events I have mentioned, the readers may judge by the fulfilling of them, whether I am on the level with common astrologers; who, with an old paultry cant, and a few pot-hooks for planets, to amuse the vulgar, have, in my opinion, too long been suffered to abuse the world: but an honest physician ought not to be despised, because there are such things as mountebanks. I hope I have some share of reputation, which I would not willingly forfeit for a frolic or humour: and I believe no gentleman who reads this paper, will look upon it to be of the same cast or mould with the common scribblers that are every day hawked about. My fortune hath placed me above the little regard of writing for a few pence, which I neither value or want: therefore let not wise men too hastily condemn this essay, intended for a good design, to cultivate and improve an ancient art, long in disgrace by having fallen into mean unskilful hands. A little time will determine, whether I have deceived others or myself: and I think it is no very unreasonable request, that men would please to suspend their judgments till then. I was once of the opinion with those who despise all predictions from the stars, till in the year 1686, a man of quality shewed me, written in his Album*, that the most learned astronomer, captain Halley, assured him, he would never believe any thing of the stars influence, if there was not a great revolution in England in the year 1688. Since that time I began to have other thoughts, and after eighteen years diligent study and application, I think I have no reason to repent of my pains. I shall detain the reader no longer, than to let him know, that the account I design to give of next year's events, shall take in the principal affairs that happen in Europe; and if I be denied the liberty of offering it to my own country, I shall appeal to the learned world, by publishing it in Latin, and giving order to have it printed in Holland.

† Album, is the name of a paper-book, in which it was usual for a man's friends to write down a sentence with their names, to keep them in his remembrance. It is still common in some of the foreign universities. *Hawkes.*

The

The ACCOMPLISHMENT of the first of Mr. BICKERSTAFF'S PREDICTIONS;

Being an ACCOUNT of the DEATH of Mr PARTRIDGE,
the ALMANACK-MAKER, upon the 29th instant *.

In a letter to a person of honour.

Written in the year 1708.

MY LORD,

IN obedience to your Lordship's commands, as well as to satisfy my own curiosity, I have for some days past enquired constantly after Partridge, the almanack-maker, of whom it was foretold in Mr. Bickerstaff's predictions, published about a month ago, that he should die the 29th instant about eleven at night, of a raging fever. I had some sort of knowledge of him, when I was employed in the revenue, because he used every year to present me with his almanack, as he did other gentlemen, upon the score of some little gratuity we gave him. I saw him accidentally once or twice about ten days before he died, and observed he began very much to droop and languish; though I hear, his friends did not seem to apprehend him in any danger. About two or three days ago he grew ill, was confined first to his chamber, and in a few hours after to his bed, where Dr. Case and Mrs. Kirleus † were sent for to visit, and prescribe to him. Upon this intelligence I sent thrice every day one servant or other to enquire after his health; and yesterday, about four in the afternoon, word was brought me, that he was past hopes: upon which I prevailed with myself to go and see

* See an elegy on the supposed death of Partridge, in vol. 6. p. 84. and the epitaph, p. 87.

† Two famous quacks at that time.

him, partly out of commiseration, and, I confess, partly out of curiosity. He knew me very well, seemed surprized at my condescension, and made me compliments upon it, as well as he could in the condition he was. The people about him said, he had been for some time delirious ; but when I saw him, he had his understanding as well as ever I knew, and spoke strong and hearty, without any seeming uneasiness or constraint. After I had told him how sorry I was to see him in those melancholy circumstances, and said some other civilities, suitable to the occasion, I desired him to tell me freely and ingenuously, whether the predictions Mr. Bickerstaff had published relating to his death, had not too much affected and worked on his imagination. He confessed, he had often had it in his head, but never with much apprehension, till about a fortnight before ; since which time it had the perpetual possession of his mind and thoughts, and he did verily believe was the true natural cause of his present distemper : for, said he, I am thoroughly persuaded, and I think I have very good reasons, that Mr. Bickerstaff spoke altogether by guess, and knew no more what will happen this year, than I did myself. I told him his discourse surprized me ; and I would be glad, he were in a state of health to be able to tell me, what reason he had to be convinced of Mr. Bickerstaff's ignorance. He replied, " I am a poor ignorant fellow, bred to a mean trade ; yet I have sense enough to know, that all pretences of foretelling by astrology are deceits, for this manifest reason, because the wise and the learned, who can only judge whether there be any truth in this science, do all unanimously agree to laugh at and despise it, and none but the poor ignorant vulgar give it any credit, and that only upon the word of such silly wretches as I and my fellows, who can hardly write or read." I then asked him, why he had not calculated his own nativity, to see whether it agreed with Bickerstaff's prediction ? at which he shook his head, and said, " Oh ! Sir, this is no time for jesting, but for repenting those fooleries, as I do now from the very bottom of my heart." " By what I can gather from you," said I, " the observations and predictions you printed with your almanacks, were mere impositions on the people." He replied,

ed, "if it were otherwise, I should have the less to answer for. We have a common form for all those things; as to foretelling the weather, we never meddle with that, but leave it to the printer, who takes it out of any old amanack as he thinks fit; the rest was my own invention to make my almanack sell, having a wife to maintain, and no other way to get my bread; for mending old shoes is a poor livelihood; and (added he, sighing) I wish I may not have done more mischief by my physic than my astrology; though I had some good receipts from my grandmother, and my own compositions were such, as I thought could at least do no hurt."

I had some other discourse with him, which now I cannot call to mind; and I fear I have already tired your Lordship. I shall only add one circumstance, that on his death-bed he declared himself a non-conformist, and had a fanatic preacher to be his spiritual guide. After half an hour's conversation I took my leave, being almost stifled by the closeness of the room. I imagined he could not hold out long, and therefore withdrew to a little coffee-house hard by, leaving a servant at the house with orders to come immediately and tell me, as near as he could, the minute when Partridge should expire, which was not above two hours after; when, looking upon my watch, I found it to be above five minutes after seven; by which it is clear that Mr. Bickerstaff was mistaken almost four hours in his calculation. In the other circumstances he was exact enough. But whether he hath not been the cause of this poor man's death, as well as the predictor, may be very reasonably disputed. However, it must be confessed, the matter is odd enough, whether we should endeavour to account for it by chance, or the effect of imagination: for my own part, though I believe no man hath less faith in these matters, yet I shall wait with some impatience, and not without some expectation, the fulfilling of Mr. Bickerstaff's second prediction, that the Cardinal de Noailles is to die upon the fourth of April, and if that should be verified as exactly as this of poor Partridge, I must own I should be wholly surprized, and at a loss, and should infallibly expect the accomplishment of all the rest.

'Squire BICKERSTAFF detected ;

O R,

THE ASTROLOGICAL IMPOSTURE convicted *.

By JOHN PARTRIDGE, Student in Physic and Astrology.

IT is hard, my dear countrymen of these united nations; it is very hard, that a Briton born, a protestant astrologer, a man of revolution-principles, an asserter of the liberty and property of the people, should cry out in vain for justice against a Frenchman, a papist, and an illiterate pretender to science, that would blast my reputation, most inhumanly bury me alive, and defraud my native country of those services, which, in my double capacity, I daily offer the public.

What great provocations I have received, let the impartial reader judge, and how unwillingly, even in my own defence, I now enter the lists against falsehood, ignorance and envy : but I am exasperated, at length, to drag out this Cacus † from the den of obscurity where he lurks, detect him by the light of those stars he has so imprudently traduced, and shew there is not a monster in the skies so pernicious and malevolent to mankind, as an ignorant pretender to physic and astrology. I shall not directly fall on the many gross errors, nor expose the notorious absurdities of this prostituted libeller, till I

* This piece being on the same subject, and very rare, we have thought fit to add it, though not written by the same hand, — N. B. In the Dublin edition it is said to be written by the late Nicholas Rowe, Esq; which is a mistake : for the Rev. Dr. Yalden, preacher of Bridewell, Mr. Partridge's near neighbour, drew it up for him. *Hawkes.*

† A thief seized in a cavern by Hercules.

have

have let the learned world fairly into the controversy depending, and then leave the unprejudiced to judge of the merits and justice of my cause.

It was towards the conclusion of the year 1707, when an impudent pamphlet crept into the world, intitled, *Predictions, etc. by Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq;*—amongst the many arrogant assertions laid down by that lying spirit of divination, he was pleased to pitch on the Cardinal de Noailles and myself, among many other eminent and illustrious persons, that were to die within the compass of the ensuing year; and peremptorily fixes the month, day, and hour of our deaths: this, I think, is sporting with great men, and public spirits, to the scandal of religion, and reproach of power; and if sovereign princes and astrologers must make diversion for the vulgar—why then farewell, say I, to all governments, ecclesiastical and civil. But, I thank my better stars, I am alive to confront this false and audacious predictor, and to make him rue the hour he ever affronted a man of science and resentment. The Cardinal may take what measures he pleases with him; as his excellency is a foreigner, and a papist, he has no reason to rely on me for his justification; I shall only assure the world he is alive—but as he was bred to letters, and is master of a pen, let him use it in his own defence. In the mean time I shall present the public with a faithful narrative of the ungenerous treatment and hard usage I have received from the virulent papers and malicious practices of this pretended astrologer.

A true and impartial account of the proceedings of
ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esq.; against me.

THE 29th of March, *anno Dom.* 1708, being the night this sham-prophet had so impudently fixed for my last, which made little impression on myself, but I cannot answer for my whole family; for my wife, with a concern more than usual, prevailed on me to take somewhat to sweat for a cold; and, between the hours of eight and nine, to go to bed: the maid, as she was warming my bed, with a curiosity natural to young wen-

hes, runs to the window, and asks of one passing the street, who the bell tolled for? Dr. Partridge, says he, the famous almanack-maker, who died suddenly this evening: the poor girl provoked, told him, he lyed like a rascal; the other very sedately replied, the sexton had so informed him, and, if false, he was to blame for imposing upon a stranger. She asked a second, and a third, as they passed, and every one was in the same tone. Now, I do not say these are accomplices to a certain astrological 'squire, and that one Bickerstaff might be sauntering thereabouts; because I will assert nothing here but what I dare attest for plain matter of fact. My wife at this fell into a violent disorder; and I must own I was a little discomposed at the oddness of the accident. In the mean time one knocks at my door; Betty runs down, and opening, finds a sober grave person, who modestly enquires, if this was Dr. Partridge's? she taking him for some cautious city-patient, that came at that time for privacy, shews him into the dining-room. As soon as I could compose myself, I went to him, and was surprized to find my gentleman mounted on a table with a two foot rule in his hand, measuring my walls, and taking the dimensions of the room. Pray Sir, says I, not to interrupt you, have you any business with me? only, Sir, replies he, order the girl to bring me a better light, for this is but a very dim one. Sir, says I, my name is Partridge: oh! the doctor's brother, belike, cries he; the stair-case, I believe, and these two apartments hung in close mourning, will be sufficient, and only a strip of bays round the other rooms. The doctor must needs die rich, he had great dealings in his way for many years; if he had no family-coat, you had as good use the escutcheons of the company; they are as showish, and will look as magnificent as if he was descended from the blood royal. With that I assumed a greater air of authority, and demanded who employed him, or how he came there? Why, I was sent, Sir, by the company of undertakers, says he, and they were employed by the honest gentleman who is executor to the good doctor departed; and our rascally porter, I believe is fallen fast asleep with the black cloath and sconces, or he had been here, and we might have been tacking up by this time.

Sir,

Sir, says I, pray be advised by a friend, and make the best of your speed out of my doors ; for I hear my wife's voice (which, by the bye, is pretty distinguishable), and in that corner of the room stands a good cudgel, which somebody has felt before now ; if that light in her hands, and she know the business you come about, without consulting the stars, I can assure you it will be employed very much to the detriment of your person. Sir, cries he, bowing with great civility, I perceive extreme grief for the loss of the doctor disorders you a little at present, but early in the morning I will wait on you with all necessary materials. Now I mention no Mr. Bickerstaff ; nor do I say, that a certain star-gazing 'squire has been playing my executor before his time ; but I leave the world to judge ; and he that puts things and things fairly together, will not be much wide of the mark.

Well, once more I got my doors closed, and prepared for bed ; in hopes of a little repose after so many rustling adventures ; just as I was putting out my light in order to it, another bounces as hard as he can knock ; I open the window, and ask who is there, and what he wants ; I am Ned the Sexton, replies he, and come to know whether the doctor left any orders for a funeral sermon, and where he is to be laid, and whether his grave is to be plain or bricked ? Why, sirrah, says I, you know me well enough ; and you know I am not dead, and how dare you affront me after this manner ? Alack-a-day, Sir, replies the fellow, why it is in print, and the whole town knows you are dead ; why, there is Mr. White the joiner is but fitting screws to your coffin ; he will be here with it in an instant : he was afraid you would have wanted it before this time. Sirrah, sirrah, says I, you shall know to-morrow, to your cost, that I am alive, and alive like to be. Why, it is strange, Sir, says he, you should make such a secret of your death to us that are your neighbours ; it looks as if you had a design to defraud the church of its dues ; and let me tell you, for one that has lived so long by the heavens, that is unhandsoinely done. Hiss, hiss, says another rogue that stood by him ; away, doctor, into your flannel gear as fast as you can, for here is a whole pack of dismals coming to you with their black equipage, and how indecent will it look for you to stand frightening

frightening folks at your window, when you should have been in your coffin this three hours? in short, what with undertakers, embalmers, joiners, sextons, and your damned elegy hawkers, upon a late practitioner in physic and astrology, I got not one wink of sleep that night, nor scarce a moment's rest ever since. Now I doubt not, but this villainous 'squire has the impudence to assert, that these are entirely strangers to him; he, good man, knows nothing of the matter, and honest Isaac Bickerstaff, I warrant you, is more a man of honour, than to be an accomplice with a pack of rascals, that walk the streets on nights, and disturb good people in their beds; but he is out, if he thinks the whole world is blind; for there is one John Partridge can smell a knave as far as Grubstreet,—although he lies in the most exalted garret, and writes himself 'squire:—but I will keep my temper, and proceed in the narration.

I could not stir out of doors for the space of three months after this, but presently one comes up to me in the street; Mr. Partridge, that coffin you was last buried in, I have not yet been paid for: doctor, cries another dog, how do you think people can live by making of graves for nothing? next time you die, you may even toll out the bell yourself for Ned. A third rogue tips me by the elbow, and wonders how I have the conscience to sneak abroad without paying my funeral expences. Lord, says one, I durst have sworn that was honest Dr. Partridge, my old friend; but poor man, he is gone. I beg your pardon, says another, you look so like my old acquaintance, that I used to consult on some private occasions; but, alack, he is gone the way of all flesh.—Look, look, look, cries a third, after a competent space of staring at me, would not one think our neighbour the almanack-maker was crept out of his grave to take the other peep at the stars in this world, and shew how much he is improved in fortune-telling, by having taken a journey to the other?

Nay, the very reader of our parish, a good sober, discreet person, has sent two or three times for me to come and be buried decently, or send him sufficient reasons to the contrary; or, if I have been interred in any other parish,

rish, to produce my certificate, as the act * requires. My poor wife is almost run distracted with being called widow Partridge, when she knows it is false; and once a term she is cited into the court, to take out letters of administration. But the greatest grievance is, a paultry quack, that takes up my calling just under my nose, and in his printed directions, with *N. B.*—says, he lives in the house of the late ingenious Mr. Partridge, an eminent practitioner in leather, physick, and astrology.

But to shew how far the wicked spirit of envy, malice, and resentment, can hurry some men, my nameless old persecutor had provided me a monument at the stone-cutter's, and would have erected it in the parish-church; and this piece of notorious and expensive villainy had actually succeeded, if I had not used my utmost interest with the vestry, where it was carried at last but by two voices, that I am alive. That stratagem failing, out comes a long sable elegy, bedecked with hour-glasses, mattocks, skulls, spades, and skeletons, with an epitaph as confidently written to abuse me, and my profession, as if I had been underground these twenty years.

And, after such barbarous treatment as this, can the world blame me, when I ask, what is become of the freedom of an Englishman? and where is the liberty and property, that my *old glorious friend* came over to assert? we have drove Popery out of the nation, and sent slavery to foreign climes. The arts only remain in bondage, when a man of science and character shall be openly insulted in the midst of the many useful services he is daily paying the public. Was it ever heard, even in Turkey or Algiers, that a state-astrologer was bantered out of his life by an ignorant impostor, or bawled out of the world by a pack of villainous, deep-mouthed hawkers? though I print almanacks, and publish advertisements; though I produce certificates under the ministers and church-wardens hands I am alive, and attest the same on oath at quarter-sessions, out comes a full and true relation

* The statute of 30. Car. II, for burying in woollen, requires, that oath shall be made of the compliance with this act, and a certificate thereof lodged with the minister of the parish, within eight days after interment. *Hawkes.*

of the death and interment of John Partridge; truth is bore down, attestations neglected, the testimony of sober persons despised, and a man is looked upon by his neighbours as if he had been seven years dead, and is buried alive in the midst of his friends and acquaintance.

Now, can any man of common sense think it consistent with the honour of my profession, and not much beneath the dignity of a philosopher, to stand bawling before his own door?—alive! alive ho! the famous Dr. Partridge! no counterfeit, but all alive!—as if I had the twelve celestial monsters of the *zodiac* to shew within, or was forced for a livelihood to turn retailer to May and Bartholomew-fairs. Therefore, if her Majesty would but graciously be pleased to think a hardship of this nature worthy her royal consideration, and the next parliament, in their great wisdom, cast but an eye towards the deplorable case of their old *philomath*, that annually bestows his poetical good wishes on them, I am sure there is one Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq: would soon be trussed up for his bloody predictions, and putting good subjects in terror of their lives: and that henceforward to murder a man by way of prophecy, and bury him in a printed letter, either to a Lord or Commoner, shall as legally entitle him to the present possession of Tyburn, as if he robbed on the highway, or cut your throat in bed.

I shall demonstrate to the judicious, that France and Rome are at the bottom of this horrid conspiracy against me; and that Culprit aforesaid is a Popish emissary, has paid his visits to S. Germain, and is now in the measures of Lewis XIV: That in attempting my reputation, there is a general massacre of learning designed in these realms; and through my sides there is a wound given to all the Protestant almanack-makers in the universe.

Vivat Regina.

A Vindication of ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esq; against what is objected to him by Mr. PART-
RIDGE, in his almanack for the present year
1709.

By the said ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esq;

Written in the year 1709.

MR. PARTRIDGE hath been lately pleased to treat me after a very rough manner, in that which is called, his almanack for the present year: such usage is very undecent from *one gentleman to another*, and doth not at all contribute to the discovery of truth, which ought to be the great end in all disputes of the *learned*. To call a man *fool* and *villain*, and *impudent fellow*, only for differing from him in a point merely speculative, is, in my humble opinion, a very improper style for a person of *his education*. I appeal to the *learned world*, whether in my last year's predictions I gave him the least provocation for such unworthy treatment. Philosophers have differed in all ages; but the discreetest among them have always differed as became philosophers. Scurrility and passion, in a controversy among *scholars*, is just so much of nothing to the purpose, and, at best, a tacit confession of a weak cause: my concern is not so much for my own reputation, as that of the *republic of letters*, which Mr. Partridge hath endeavoured to wound through my sides. If men of public spirit must be superciliously treated for their ingenious attempts, how will true useful knowledge be ever advanced? I wish Mr. Partridge knew the thoughts which *foreign universities* have conceived of his ungenerous proceedings with me; but I am too tender of his reputation to publish them to the world. That spirit of envy and pride, which blasts so many rising genius's in our nation, is yet unknown among *professors* abroad: the necessity of justifying myself will excuse my vanity, when I tell the reader, that I have near a hundred *honorary*
letters

letters from several parts of Europe (some as far as Muscovy), in praise of my performance; besides several others, which, as I have been credibly informed, were opened in the post-office, and never sent me. It is true, the *inquisition* in Portugal was * pleased to burn my predictions, and condemn the author and readers of them; but I hope at the same time, it will be considered, in how deplorable a state *learning* lies at present in that kingdom: and, with the profoundest veneration for *crowned heads*, I will presume to add, that it a little concerned his majesty of Portugal to interpose his authority in behalf of a *scholar* and a *gentleman*, the subject of a nation with which he is now in so strict an alliance. But the other kingdoms and states of Europe have treated me with more candour and generosity. If I had leave to print the Latin letters transmitted to me from foreign parts, they would fill a volume, and be a full defence against all that Mr. Partridge, or his accomplices of the Portugal *inquisition*, will be ever able to object; who, by the way, are the only enemies my predictions have ever met with at home or abroad. But I hope, I know better what is due to the honour of a *learned correspondence* in so tender a point. Yet some of those illustrious persons will perhaps excuse me for transcribing a passage or two in my vindication †. The most learned monsieur Leibnitz thus addresses to me his third letter: *illustrissimo Bickerstaffio astrologiæ instauratori, &c.* Monsieur le Clerc, quoting my predictions in a treatise he published last year, is pleased to say, *ita nuperrime Bickerstaffius, magnum illud Angliæ sidus.* Another great professor writing of me, has these words: *Bickerstaffius, nobilis Anglus, astrologorum hujusce sæculi facile princeps.* Signior Magliabecchi, the Great Duke's famous library-keeper, spends almost his whole letter in compliments and praises. It is true, the renowned professor of astronomy at Utrecht, seems to differ from

* This is fact, as the author was assured by Sir Paul Methuen, then ambassador to that crown.

† The quotations here inserted, are in imitation of Dr. Bentley, in some part of the famous controversy between him and Mr. Boyle, afterwards Earl of Orrery.

me in one article; but it is after the modest manner that becomes a philosopher; as, *pace tanti viri dixerim*: and page 55. he seems to lay the error upon the printer (as indeed it ought), and says, *vel forsan error typographi, cum alioquin Bickerstaffus vir doctissimus*, etc.

If Mr. Partridge had followed these examples in the controversy between us, he might have spared me the trouble of justifying myself in so public a manner. I believe no man is readier to own his errors than I, or more thankful to those who will please to inform him of them. But it seems this gentleman, instead of encouraging the progress of his own art, is pleased to look upon all attempts of that kind as an invasion of his province. He hath been indeed so wise to make no objection against the truth of my predictions, except in one single point relating to himself: and to demonstrate how much men are blinded by their own partiality, I do solemnly assure the reader, that he is the only person from whom I ever heard that objection offered; which consideration alone, I think, will take off all its weight.

With my utmost endeavours I have not been able to trace above two objections ever made against the truth of my last year's prophecies: the first was of a Frenchman, who was pleased to publish to the world, that *the cardinal de Noailles was still alive, notwithstanding the pretended prophecy of monsieur Biquerstaffe*: but how far a Frenchman, a *papist*, and an *enemy*, is to be believed in his own cause against an English *protestant*, who is true to the government, I shall leave to the candid and impartial reader.

The other objection is the unhappy occasion of this discourse, and relates to an article in my predictions, which foretold the death of Mr. Partridge to happen on March 29. 1708. This he is pleased to contradict absolutely in the almanack he hath published for the present year, and in that ungentlemanly manner (pardon the expression) as I have above related. In that work he very roundly asserts, that he *is not only now alive, but was likewise alive upon that very 29th of March, when I had foretold he should die*. This is the subject of the present controversy between us; which I design to handle with all brevity, perspicuity, and calmness; in this

dispute, I am sensible the eyes not only of England, but of all Europe, will be upon us ; and the *learned* in every country will, I doubt not, take part on that side, where they find most appearance of reason and truth.

Without entering into criticisms of *chronology* about the hour of his death, I shall only prove that Mr. Partridge is not alive. And my first argument is thus : above a thousand gentlemen having bought his almanacks for this year, merely to find what he said against me ; at every line they read, they would lift up their eyes, and cry out, betwixt rage and laughter, *they were sure no man alive ever writ such damned stuff as this*. Neither did I ever hear that opinion disputed : so that Mr. Partridge lies under a *dilemma*, either of disowning his almanack, or allowing himself to be *no man alive*. But now if an *un-informed* carcase walks still about, and is pleased to call itself Partridge, Mr. Bickerstaff does not think himself any way answerable for that. Neither had the said carcase any right to beat the poor boy, who happened to pass by it in the street, crying, *a full and true account of Dr. Partridge's death*, etc.

Secondly, Mr. Partridge pretends to tell fortunes, and recover stolen goods ; which all the parish says, he must do by conversing with the devil and other evil spirits : and no wise man will ever allow, he could converse personally with either till after he was dead.

Thirdly, I will plainly prove him to be dead out of his own almanack for this year, and from the very passage, which he produceth to make us think him alive. He there says, *he is not only now alive, but was also alive upon that very 29th of March, which I foretold he should die on* : by this, he declares his opinion, that a man may be alive now, who was not alive a twelvemonth ago. And indeed, there lies the sophistry of his argument. He dares not assert, he was alive ever since that 29th of March, but that *he is now alive, and was so on that day* : I grant the latter ; for he did not die till night, as appears by the printed account of his death, in a *letter to a lord* ; and whether he be since revived, I leave the world to judge. This indeed is perfect cavilling, and I am ashamed to dwell any longer upon it.

Fourthly, I will appeal to Mr. Partridge himself, whether

ther it be probable I could have been so indiscreet, to begin my predictions with the *only* fallshood, that ever was pretended to be in them ; and this is in an affair at home, where I had so many opportunities to be exact ; and must have given such advantages against me to a person of Mr. Partridge's wit and learning, who, if he could possibly have raised one single objection more against the truth of my prophecies, would hardly have spared me.

And here I must take occasion to reprove the above-mentioned writer of the relation of Mr. Partridge's death, in a *letter to a lord* ; who was pleased to tax me with a mistake of *four whole hours* in my calculation of that event. I must confess, this censure pronounced with an air of certainty, in a matter that so nearly concerned me, and by a *grave judicious author*, moved me not a little. But though I was at that time out of town, yet several of my friends, whose curiosity had led them to be exactly informed (for as to my own part, having no doubt at all in the matter, I never once thought of it), assured me, I computed to something under half an hour ; which (I speak my private opinion) is an error of no very great magnitude, that men should raise a clamour about it. I shall only say, it would not be amiss, if that author would henceforth be more tender of other men's reputations as well as his own. It is well there were no more mistakes of that kind ; if there had, I presume he would have told me of them with as little ceremony.

There is one objection against Mr. Partridge's death, which I have sometimes met with, though indeed very slightly offered, that he still continues to write almanacks. But this is no more than what is common to all of that profession ; Gadbury, poor Robin, Dove, Wing, and several others, do yearly publish their almanacks, though several of them have been dead since before the *revolution*. Now the natural reason of this I take to be, that whereas it is the privilege of other authors *to live after their deaths*, almanack-makers are alone excluded ; because their dissertations treating only upon the minutes as they pass, become useless as those go off. In consideration of which, *time*, whose *registers* they are, gives them a lease in reversion, to continue their works after their death.

I should not have given the public or myself the trouble of this vindication, if my name had not been made use of by several persons, to whom I never lent it; one of which, a few days ago, was pleased to father on me a new sett of predictions. But I think these are things too serious to be trifled with. It grieved me to the heart, when I saw my labours, which had cost me so much thought and watching, bawled about by common hawkers, which I only intended for the weighty consideration of the gravest persons. This prejudiced the world so much at first, that several of my friends had the assurance to ask me, whether I were in jest? to which I only answered coldly, *that the event would shew*. But it is the talent of our age and nation, to turn things of the greatest importance into ridicule. When the end of the year had *verified all my predictions*, out comes Mr. Partridge's almanack, disputing the point of his death; so that I am employed, like the general who was forced to kill his enemies twice over, whom a *necromancer* had raised to life. If Mr. Partridge hath practised the same experiment upon himself, and be again alive, long may he continue so; that doth not in the least contradict my veracity: but I think I have clearly proved, by *invincible demonstration*, that he died at farthest within half an hour of the time I foretold, and not four hours sooner, as the above-mentioned author, in his letter to a lord, hath maliciously suggested, with design to blast my credit, by charging me with so gross a mistake.

A famous PREDICTION of MERLIN, the British Wizard *.

Written above a thousand years ago, and relating
to the year 1709.

With explanatory notes, by T. N. Philomath.

Written in the year 1709.

LAST year was published a paper of predictions, pretended to be written by one Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq; but the true design of it was to ridicule the art of astrology, and expose its professors as ignorant or impostors. Against this imputation, Dr. Partridge hath learnedly vindicated himself in his almanack for that year.

For

* Dr. Swift in his preface to this piece would insinuate, that what he publishes to the world is a translation of Merlin's prophecy two hundred years old. The main design of the Doctor in this prediction, if he was really in earnest, (which I verily believe he was not as I am persuaded that he only writ this prophecy in order to vex the Whigs, and to fret that ungrateful ministry which had forgotten the obligations he had conferred upon them), was, to encourage Q. Anne to a second marriage, in order that her majesty might repair, if possible, that infinite loss she had sustained by the Duke of Gloucester, who, by all accounts, was one of the finest princes that ever was born in England, and accordingly was universally regretted by the whole nation, the fanatical party and all their black adherents only excepted. This appears from the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th lines of the prophecy.

And without dispute, as in England there were many thousands, who were desirous to see a prince descended from a Queen whom they loved with such ardour and affection; so, in the wildness of their imagination, they endeavoured to persuade her Majesty at the age of about forty-five to marry a second time. But whether it was

For a farther vindication of this famous art, I have thought fit to present the world with the following prophecy. The original is said to be of the famous Merlin, who lived about a thousand years ago ; and the following translation is two hundred years old ; for it seems to be written near the end of Henry the seventh's reign. I found it in an old edition of Merlin's prophecies, imprinted at London by John Hawkins in the year 1530, *page* 39. I set it down word for word in the old orthography, and shall take leave to subjoin a few explanatory notes.

Seven and ten addyd to nine,
Of Fraunce her woe this is the sygne,
Tamys rivere twys y-frozen,
Walke sans wetying shoes ne hozen.
Then comyth foorth, ich understonde,
From Towne of Stoffe to fattyn Londe,

owing to that excessive regard which she bore unto the memory of her beloved, the Prince of Denmark ; or whether it was because she never had a child after the age of five or six and twenty ; or whether it was for some political reason or other, she refused in this respect to gratify the inclinations of her people ; which however, as animosities and factions were then rising to an excessive height, she had cause to repent of before the time of her decease. For, as the Queen was driven to such inexpressible straits by the fury and machinations of the contending parties, that, with all her experience in government, she knew not whom to trust ; if she had married some wise and thoughtful prince, entirely remote from all pretensions to the crown, (supposing that such a one could have been found in Europe at that time), she might have passed the remainder of her life with more ease and tranquillity. For as a prince in that situation would have had nothing more to do, than to have made the Queen happy and her reign glorious, he might have acted as moderator between both parties, secured unto himself the esteem of all the wise and virtuous, and perhaps, after the decease of the Queen, might have been highly regarded by her successor during the remainder of his life. But alas ! party-rage carried all before it, and every scheme of accommodation was equally rejected by Whigs and Tories. *Swift.*
An

An herdie Chyftan, woe the morne
 To Fraunce, that ever he was born.
 Then fhall the fylhe beweyle his boffe :
 Nor fhall grin berrys make up the loffe. 10
 Yonge Symnele fhall again mifcarrye :
 And Norway's pryd * again fhall marrey.
 And from the tree where blofums feele,
 Ripe fruit fhall come, and all is wele;
 Reaums fhall dance honde in honde, 15
 And it fhall be merrye in old Inglonde :
 Then old Inglonde fhall be no more,
 And no man fhall be forie therefore.
 Geryon fhall have three hedes agayne,
 Till Hapfburge makyth them but twayne. 20

Explanatory notes.

Seven and ten. This line describes the year when thefe events fhall happen. Seven and ten makes feventeen, which I explain feventeen hundred, and this number added to nine, makes the year we are now in ; for it muft be underftood of the natural year, which begins the firft of January.

Tamys rivere twys, &c. The river Thames frozen twice in one year, fo as man cuold walk on it, is a very fignal accident, which perhaps hath not fallen out for feveral hundred years before, and is the reafon why fome aftrologers have thought, that this prophecy could never be fulfilled, becaufe they imagined fuch a thing would never happen in our climate.

From town of Stoffe, &c. This is a plain designation of the Duke of Marlborough : one kind of ftuff ufed to fatten land is called Marle, and every body knows that Borough is a name for a town ; and this way of expreffion is after the ufual dark manner of old aftrological predictions.

* Q. Anne is called *Norway's pryd*, becaufe ſhe had vouchsafed to marry the Prince of Denmark ; and we all know, that Norway is part of the dominion belonging to that crown. *Swift.*
Then

Then shall the fyshe, &c. By the *fish*, is understood the *Dauphin* of France, as their kings eldest sons are called: it is here said, he shall lament the loss of the Duke of Burgundy, called the *Bosse*, which is an old English word for *hump-shoulder*, or *crook-back*, as that Duke is known to be; and the prophecy seems to mean, that he should be overcome or slain. By the *green berry*s, in the next line, is meant the young Duke of Berry, the *Dauphin's* third son, who shall not have valour or fortune enough to supply the loss of his eldest brother.

Young Symnele, &c. By *Symnele* is meant the pretended Prince of Wales, who, if he offers to attempt any thing against England, shall miscarry as he did before. Lambert Symnel is the name of a young man, noted in our histories for personating the son (as I remember) of Edward IV.

And Norway's pryd, &c. I cannot guess who is meant by *Norway's pride* *; perhaps the reader may, as well as the sense of the two following lines.

Reaums shall, &c. *Reaums*, or, as the word is now, *realms*, is the old name for *kingdoms*: and this is a very plain prediction of our happy *union*, with the felicities that shall attend it. It is added that Old England shall be no more, and yet no man shall be sorry for it. And indeed, properly speaking, England is now no more, for the whole island is one kingdom under the name of Britain.

Geryon shall, &c. This prediction, though somewhat obscure, is wonderfully adapted. *Geryon* is said to have been a king of Spain, whom *Hercules* slew. It was a fiction of the poets, that he had three heads, which the author says he shall have again: that is, Spain shall have three kings: which is now wonderfully verified; for besides the King of Portugal, which properly is part of Spain, there are now two rivals for Spain, Charles and Philip: but Charles being descended from the count of Hapsburgh, founder of the Austrian family, shall soon make those heads but two, by overturning Philip, and driving him out of Spain.

Some of these predictions are already fulfilled; and it is highly probable the rest may be in due time; and I

* Queen Anne.

think I have not forced the words by my explication, into any other sense than what they will naturally bear. If this be granted, I am sure it must be also allowed, that the author (whoever he were) was a person of extraordinary sagacity; and that astrology brought to such perfection as this, is by no means an art to be despised, whatever Mr. Bickerstaff, or other merry gentlemen are pleased to think. As to the tradition of these lines having been writ in the original by Merlin, I confess I lay not much weight upon it; but it is enough to justify their authority, that the book from whence I have transcribed them, was printed 170 years ago, as appears by the title-page. For the satisfaction of any gentleman, who may be either doubtful of the truth, or curious to be informed, I shall give order to have the very book sent to the printer of this paper, with directions to let any body see it that pleases, because I believe it is very scarce.

The

THE WONDERFUL WONDER OF WONDERS.

THERE is a certain person lately arrived at this city, whom it is very proper the world should be informed of. His character may perhaps be thought very inconsistent, improbable, and unnatural; however I intend to draw it with the utmost regard to truth. This I am the better qualified to do, because he is a sort of *dependent* upon our family, and *almost* of the same age; though I cannot directly say, I have ever *seen* him. He is a native of this country, and hath lived long among us; but what appears wonderful, and hardly credible, was never seen *before* by any mortal.

It is true indeed, he always chuses the *lowest* place in company, and contrives it so, to keep *out of sight*. It is reported however, that in his younger days he was frequently *exposed to view*, but always against his will, and was sure to *smart* for it.

As to his family, he came into the world a younger brother, being of *six* children the *fourth* in order of (1) birth; of which the eldest is now *head* of the house; the second and third carry *arms*; but the two youngest are only *footmen*: Some indeed add, that he hath likewise a *twin-brother*, who lives *over-against* him, and keeps a (2) *virtualling-house*; he hath the reputation to be a *close, griping, squeezing* fellow; and that when his bags are *full*, he is often *needy*; yet when the fit takes him, as fast as he gets, he *lets it fly*.

When in *office*, no one *dischargeth* himself, or *doth his business* better. He hath *sometimes strained hard* for an honest livelihood; and never got a *bit*, till every body else had *done*.

One practice appears very blameable in him; that every morning he privately frequents *unclean houses* where any modest person would blush to be seen. And although this be generally known, yet the world, as censorious as it is, hath been so kind to overlook this infirmity in him. To deal impartially; it must be granted, that he is too great a lover of himself, and very often

consults

consults his own *ease* at the expence of his best friends : but this is one of his *blind-sides* ; and the best of men I fear are not without *them*.

He hath been constituted by the *higher* powers in the station of *receiver-general*, in which employment some have censured him for playing *fast* and *loose*. He is likewise *overseer* of the *golden mines*, which he daily inspecteth, when his health will permit him.

He was long bred under a (3) *master of arts*, who instilled good *principles* in him, but these were soon *corrupted*. I know not whether this deserves mention ; that he is so very capricious, as to take it for an equal affront to talk either of *kissing* or *kicking* him, which hath occasioned a thousand quarrels : however no body was ever so great a sufferer for faults, which he neither was, nor possibly could be guilty of.

In his *religion* he hath thus much of the quaker, that he stands *always covered*, even in the presence of the King ; in most other points a perfect (4) *idolater*, although he endeavours to *conceal* it ; for he is known to offer daily sacrifices to certain *subterraneous nymphs*, whom he worships in an *humble posture*, prone on his face, and *stript stark-naked* ; and so leaves his *offerings behind him*, which the (5) *priests* of those goddesses are careful enough to remove upon certain seasons with the utmost privacy at *midnight*, and from thence maintain themselves and families. In all *urgent necessities* and *pressures*, he applies himself to these deities, and sometimes even in the *streets* and *high-ways*, from an opinion that those powers have an influence in all places, although their peculiar residence be in caverns under ground. Upon these *occasions* the fairest ladies will not refuse to *lend* their *hands* to assist him : for, although they are ashamed to have him *seen* in their company, or even so much as to hear him *named* ; yet it is well known, that he is one of their *constant followers*.

In *politics*, he always submits to what is *uppermost* ; but he peruses pamphlets on *both sides* with great impartiality, though seldom till *every body else* hath done with *them*.

His *learning* is of a mixed kind, and he may properly be called a *helluo librorum*, or another *Jacobus de Voragine* ;

gine; though his studies are chiefly confined to *school-men*, *commentators*, and *German divines*, together with *modern poets* and *critics*: and he is an *atomic philosopher*, strongly maintaining a *void in nature*, which he seems to have fairly proved by many *experiments*.

I shall now proceed to describe some particular qualities, which, in several instances seem to distinguish this person from the common race of other mortals.

His *grandfather* was a member of the *rump-parliament*, as the *grandson* is of the *present*, where he often *rises*, sometimes *grumbles*, but never *speaks*. However he lets nothing pass *willingly*, but what is *well digested*. His courage is indisputable, for he will take the boldest man alive *by the nose*.

He is generally the *first a-bed* in the family, and the *last up*; which is to be lamented; because when he happens to *rise before* the rest, it hath been thought to forebode *good fortune to his superiors*.

As wisdom is acquired by age, so by every new (6) *wrinkle in his face*, he is reported to gain some *new knowledge*.

In him we may observe the true effects and consequences of *tyranny* in a state: for, as he is a great *oppressor* of all *below* him, so there is no-body more *oppressed* by those *above* him: yet in his time he hath been so highly in favour, that many *illustrious persons* have been entirely indebted to *him* for their *preferments*.

He hath discovered, from his own experience, the true *point*, wherein all human actions, projects, and designs do chiefly *terminate*; and how *mean* and *sordid* they are *at the bottom*.

It behoves the public to keep him *quiet*; for his *frequent murmurs* are a certain sign of *intestine tumults*.

No philosopher ever lamented more the luxury, for which these nations are so justly taxed; it hath been known to cost him (7) *tears of blood*: for, in his own nature, he is far from being *profuse*; though indeed he never stays a night at a gentleman's house without *leaving something behind him*.

He receives with great submission whatever his patrons think fit to give him; and when they lay *heavy burthens* upon him, which is frequently enough, he gets rid of them

them as soon as he can; but not without *some labour* and *much grumbling*.

He is a perpetual *hanger-on*; yet no body knows how to be *without him*. He patiently suffers himself to be *kept under*, but loves to be well used, and in that case will sacrifice his *vitals* to give you *ease*: and he hath hardly one acquaintance, for whom he hath not been *bound*; yet, as far as we can find, was never known to *lose* any thing by it.

He is observed to be very (8) *unquiet* in the company of a Frenchman in *new cloaths*, or a young *coquette*.

He is, in short, the subject of much *mirth* and *railery*, which he seems to take well enough; though it hath not been observed, that ever any *good thing* came from himself.

There is so general an opinion of his justice, that sometimes very *hard cases* are left to his decision; and while he *sits* upon them, he carries himself exactly *even between both sides*, except where some *knotty point* arises; and then he is observed to *lean* a little to the *right* or *left* as the matter inclines him; but his reasons for it are so manifest and convincing, that every man approves them.

POSTSCRIPT.

Gentle Reader.

THOUGH I am not insensible how many thousand persons have been, and still are, with great dexterity *handling* this subject, and no less aware of what infinite reams of paper have been *laid out upon it*: however, in my opinion, no man living has *touched* it with greater nicety and more delicate turns, than our author. But because there is some intended obscurity in this relation; and curiosity, inquisitive of *secrets*, may possibly not enter into the *bottom* and *depth* of the subject, it was thought not improper to take off the veil, and gain the reader's favour by enlarging his *insight*. *Ars enim non habet inimicum nisi ignorantem*. It is well known, that it has been the policy of all times to deliver down *important* subjects by emblem and riddle, and not to suffer the knowledge of truth to be derived to us in plain and simple terms, which are generally as soon forgotten as conceived. For this reason the *beaten* religion is mostly couched

under *mythology*. For the like reason (this being a FUNDAMENTAL in its kind) the author has thought fit to wrap up his treasure in *clean linen*, which it is our business to lay open, and set in a due light; for I have observed, upon any accidental discovery, the least glimpse has given a great diversion to the eager spectator, as many ladies could testify, *were it proper, or the case would admit.*

The politest companies have vouchsafed to smile at the bare name, and some people of fashion have been so little scrupulous of bringing it in play, that it was the usual saying of a knight and a man of good breeding, *That whenever he arose, his a-se rose with him.*

N O T E S.

(1) He alludes to the manner of our birth, the head and arms appearing before the posteriors and the two feet, which he calls the *footmen*.

(2) *Viſtualling-house.*] The belly, which receives and digests our nourishment.

(3) *Maſter of arts.*] *Perſius*: *magiſter artis, ingeniique largitor venter.*

(4) *Idolater.*] Alludes to the ſacrifices offered by the Romans to the goddeſs Cloacina.

(5) *Prieſts.*] Gold-finders, who perform their office in the night-time: but our author further ſeems to have an eye to the cuſtom of the heathen prieſts ſtealing the offerings in the night; of which ſee more in the ſtory of Bell and the Dragon.

(6) *Wrinkle.*] This refers to a proverb—*You have one wrinkle in your a-se more than you had before.*

(7) *Tears of blood.*] *Hæmorrhoids*, according to the phyſicians, are a frequent conſequence of intemperance.

(8) *Unquiet.*] Their tails being generally obſerved to be moſt reſtleſs.

The WONDER of ALL the WONDERS, that
ever the WORLD wondered at.

For all persons of quality and others.

NEWLY arrived at this city of Dublin the famous
artist John Emanuel Schoitz, who, to the great
surprize and satisfaction of all spectators, is ready to do
the following wonderful performances; the like before
never seen in this kingdom.

He will heat a bar of iron red-hot, and thrust it into a
barrel of gun-powder before all the company, and yet it
shall not take fire.

He lets any gentleman charge a blunderbuss with the
same gun-powder, and twelve leaden bullets; which blun-
derbuss the said artist discharges full in the face of the
said company, without the least hurt, the bullets sticking
in the wall behind them.

He takes any gentleman's own sword, and runs it thro'
the said gentleman's body, so that the point appears
bloody at the back to all the spectators; then he takes
out the sword, wipes it clean, and returns it to the owner,
who receives no manner of hurt.

He takes a pot of scalding oil, and throws it by great
ladles-full directly at the ladies, without spoiling their
cloaths or burning their skins.

He takes any person of quality's child, from two years
old to six, and lets the child's own father or mother take
a pike in their hands; then the artist takes the child in
his arms, and tosses it upon the point of the pike, where it
sticks, to the great satisfaction of all spectators; and is
then taken off without so much as a hole in his coat.

He mounts upon a scaffold just over the spectators, and
from thence throws down a great quantity of large tiles
and stones, which fall like so many pillows, without so
much as discomposing either perukes or head-dresses.

He takes any person of quality up to the said scaffold,
which person pulls off his shoes, and leaps nine foot di-
rectly

rectly down on a board prepared on purpose, full of sharp spikes six inches long, without hurting his feet or damaging his stockings.

He places the said board on a chair, upon which a lady sits down with another lady in her lap, while the spikes, instead of entering into the under-lady's flesh, will feel like a velvet cushion.

He takes any person of quality's footman, tyes a rope about his bare neck, and draws him up by pulleys to the ceiling, and there keeps him hanging as long as his master or the company pleases, the said footman, to the wonder and delight of all beholders, having a pot of ale in one hand and a pipe in the other; and when he is let down, there will not appear the least mark of the cord about his neck.

He bids a lady's maid put her finger into a cup of clear liquor like water, upon which her face and both her hands are immediately withered like an old woman of fourscore; her belly swells as if she were within a week of her time, and her legs are as thick as mill-posts; but upon putting her finger into another cup, she becomes as young and handsome, as she was before.

He gives any gentleman leave to drive forty twelve-penny nails up to the head in a porter's backside, and then places the said porter on a loadstone chair, which draws out every nail, and the porter feels no pain.

He likewise draws the teeth of half a dozen gentlemen, mixes and jumbles them in a hat, gives any person leave to blindfold him, and returns each their own, and fixes them as well as ever.

With his fore-finger and thumb he thrusts several gentlemen and ladies eyes out of their heads, without the least pain, at which time they see an unspeakable number of beautiful colours; and after they are entertained to the full, he places them again in their proper sockets, without any damage to the sight.

He lets any gentleman drink a quart of hot melted lead, and by a draught of prepared liquor, of which he takes part himself, he makes the said lead pass through the said gentleman before all the spectators, without any damage; after which it is produced in a cake to the company.

With

With many other wonderful performances of art, too tedious here to mention.

The said artist has performed before most kings and princes in Europe with great applause.

He performs every day (except Sundays), from ten of the clock to one in the forenoon; and from four till seven in the evening, at the new inn in Smithfield.

The first seat a British crown, the second a British half crown, and the lowest a British shilling.

N. B. The best hands in town are to play at the said show.

A PROPOSAL for correcting, improving, and
ascertaining the ENGLISH TONGUE*.

In a LETTER to the Most Honourable ROBERT
Earl of OXFORD and MORTIMER, Lord High
Treasurer of GREAT BRITAIN.

To the Most Honourable ROBERT Earl of OXFORD, &c.

My LORD,

WHAT I had the honour of mentioning to your
lordship some time ago in conversation, was not
a new thought just then started by accident or occasion,
but

* It is well known, that if the Queen had lived a year or two
longer, this proposal would, in all probability, have taken effect.
For the Lord Treasurer had already nominated several persons,
without distinction of quality or party, who were to compose a
society for the purposes mentioned by the author; and resolved to
use his credit with her Majesty, that a fund should be applied to
support the expence of a large room, where the society should meet,
and for other incidents. But this scheme fell to the ground, partly
by the dissensions among the great men at court, but chiefly by the
lamented death of that glorious princess. *Dub. edit.*

This piece might have been a very useful performance, if it had
been longer, and less eclipsed by compliments to the noble person
to whom it is addressed. It seems to have been intended as a pre-
face to some more enlarged design: at the head of which such an
introduction must have appeared with great propriety. A work of
this kind is much wanted, as our language, instead of being improv-
ed, is every day growing worse and more debased. We bewilder
ourselves in various orthography; we speak and we write at random;
and if a man's common conversation were to be committed to
paper, he would be startled for to find himself guilty in a few sen-
tences, of so many solecisms and such false English. I believe we

are

But the result of long reflexion ; and I have been confirmed in my sentiments by the opinion of some very judicious persons,

are the only people in the Christian world, who repeat the Lord's prayer in an ungrammatical manner ; and I remember to have heard, that when a motion was made in the convocation to alter the word *which* for the word *who*, the proposition was rejected by the majority. This instance may shew you of what sort of men, the most learned, and even the most reverend assemblies are sometimes composed. But let us consider the conduct of a neighbouring nation. How industrious have the French been to improve their language ? and to what a state of perfection have they brought it ? Rome, by her conquests, made her dialect universal : France, by her policy, has done the same. By policy, I mean the encouragement of arts and sciences ; which will often render a nation more powerful than arms. Nothing has contributed so much to the purity and excellence of the French tongue, as the noble academies established for that purpose : and, until some public work of the same kind is undertaken in England ; we cannot flatter ourselves with any hopes of amending the errors, or ascertaining the limits of our style. I shall not presume even to whisper to you, that I think a design of this sort is sufficiently momentous to attract the consideration of our legislative powers. Their thoughts are otherwise employed, and their faculties otherwise applied. But I will venture to say, that if to our hospitals for lunatics, an hospital was added for the reception and support of men of sense and learning, it would be of the highest honour to the present age, and of no less advantage to posterity. I call it an hospital, because I suppose it to be erected for the benefit of such persons, whose infirm fortunes, or diseased revenues, may have rendered the strength and abilities of their minds weak and useless to the public ; for I entirely agree with Aristotle, where he says, in the words of his scholiast, *Eum praeclara et magna vix posse exequi et praestare, cui facultates desunt : quoniam per amicos et civilem potentiam, veluti per instrumenta, necesse est pleraque effici.* The reflections that arise from this theme, I find, are driving me beyond due bounds : therefore I shall only add, that I heartily wish you may think an attention to your native language as useful and improving a study as can be pursued, in whatever station of life Providence may allot you. *Orrery.*

persons, with whom I consulted. They all agree; that nothing would be of greater use towards the improvement of knowledge and politeness, than some effectual method for *correcting, enlarging and ascertaining* our language; and they think it a work very possible to be compassed under the protection of a prince, the countenance and encouragement of a ministry, and the care of proper persons chosen for such an undertaking. I was glad to find your lordship's answer in so different a style, from what hath been commonly made use of on the like occasions for some years past, *That all such thoughts must be deferred to a time of peace*: a topic which some have carried so far, that they would not have us by any means think of preserving our civil or religious constitution, because we are engaged in a war abroad. It will be among the distinguishing marks of your ministry, my Lord, that you have a genius above all such regards; and that no reasonable proposal for the honour, the advantage, or the ornament of your country, however foreign to your more immediate office, was ever neglected by you. I confess, the merit of this candour and condescension is very much lessened, because your lordship hardly leaves us room to

In this epistle Dr. Swift complains to the Earl of Oxford as first minister, in the name of all the learned and polite persons of the nation, that our language is extremely imperfect; that its daily improvements are by no means equal to its daily corruptions; that the pretenders to polish and refine it have chiefly multiplied abuses and absurdities; and that in many instances it offends against every part of grammar. He proves with irresistible force of reason, that our language ought to be refined to a certain standard, and then fixed for ever: he remarks the several inconveniencies which arise perpetually from our stupid inattention to these matters. He doth not however prescribe any methods for ascertaining the language, but throws out some general observations, leaving the rest to the inspection of that society, which he hoped would have been speedily instituted by the Lord Treasurer. But this scheme fell to the ground, partly by the dissensions among the great men at court, and chiefly by the lamented death of Q. Anne, that ever glorious princess. *Swift.*

offer

offer our good wishes; removing all our difficulties, and supplying our wants, faster than the most visionary projector can adjust his schemes. And therefore, my lord, the design of this paper is not so much to offer you *ways* and *means*, as to complain of a *grievance*, the redressing of which is to be your own work, as much as that of paying the *nation's debt*, or opening a trade into the South-sea; and though not of such immediate benefit as either of these, or any other of your glorious actions, yet perhaps in future ages not less to your honour.

My lord, I do here, in the name of all the learned and polite persons of the nation, complain to your lordship as *first minister*, that our language is extremely imperfect; that its daily improvements are by no means in proportion to its daily corruptions; that the pretenders to polish and refine it have chiefly multiplied abuses and absurdities; and, that in many instances it offends against ever part of grammar. But lest your lordship should think my censure too severe, I shall take leave to be more particular.

I believe your lordship will agree with me, in the reason why our language is less refined than those of Italy, Spain, or France. It is plain, that the Latin tongue in its purity was never in this island; towards the conquest of which few or no attempts were made till the time of Claudius; neither was that language ever so vulgar in Britain, as it is known to have been in Gaul and Spain. Further, we find that the Roman legions here were at length all recalled to help their country against the Goths, and other barbarous invaders. Mean time, the Britons left to shift for themselves, and daily harrassed by cruel inroads from the Picts, were forced to call in the Saxons for their defence; who consequently reduced the greatest part of the island to their own power, drove the Britons into the most remote and mountainous parts, and the rest of the country in customs, religion, and language, became wholly Saxon. This I take to be the reason, why there are more Latin words remaining in the British tongue than in the old Saxon, which, excepting some few variations in the orthography, is the same in most original words with our present English, as well as with the German and other Northern dialects.

Edward.

Edward the *confessor*, having lived long in France, appears to be the first who introduced any mixture of the French tongue with the Saxon; the court affecting what the prince was fond of, and others taking it up for a fashion, as it is now with us. William the *conqueror* proceeded much farther; bringing over with him vast numbers of that nation, scattering them in every monastery, giving them great quantities of land, directing all pleadings to be in that language, and endeavouring to make it universal in the kingdom. This at least is the opinion generally received: but your lordship hath fully convinced me, that the French tongue made yet a greater progress here under Harry the *second*, who had large territories on that continent, both from his father and his wife, made frequent journeys and expeditions thither, and was always attended with a number of his countrymen, retainers at his court. For some centuries after, there was a constant intercourse between France and England, by the dominions we possessed there, and the conquests we made; so that our language between two and three hundred years ago, seems to have had a greater mixture with French than at present; many words having been afterwards rejected, and some since the time of Spencer; although we have still retained not a few, which have been long antiquated in France. I could produce several instances of both kinds, if it were of any use or entertainment.

To examine into the several circumstances by which the language of a country may be altered, would force me to enter into a wide field. I shall only observe, that the Latin, the French, and the English, seem to have undergone the same fortune. The first, from the days of Romulus to those of Julius Cæsar, suffered perpetual changes: and by what we meet in those authors who occasionally speak on that subject, as well as from certain fragments of old laws, it is manifest that the Latin, three hundred years before Tully, was as unintelligible in his time, as the English and French of the same period are now; and these two have changed as much since William the *conqueror* (which is but little less than seven hundred years) as the Latin appears to have done in the like term. Whether our language or the French will decline

as fast as the Roman did, is a question, that would perhaps admit more debate than it is worth. There were many reasons for the corruptions of the last : as, the change of their government to a tyranny, which ruined the study of eloquence, there being no further use or encouragement for popular orators : their giving not only the freedom of the city, but capacity for employments, to several towns in Gaul, Spain, and Germany, and other distant parts, as far as Asia ; which brought a great number of foreign pretenders into Rome : the slavish disposition of the senate and people, by which the wit and eloquence of the age were wholly turned into panegyric, the most barren of all subjects : the great corruption of manners, and introduction of foreign luxury, with foreign terms to express it, with several others that might be assigned ; not to mention those invasions from the Goths and Vandals, which are too obvious to insist on.

The Roman language arrived at great perfection, before it began to decay : and the French, for these last fifty years, hath been polishing as much as it will bear, and appears to be declining by the natural inconstancy of that people, and the affectation of some late authors to introduce and multiply cant words, which is the most ruinous corruption in any language. La Bruyere, a late celebrated writer among them, makes use of many new terms, which are not to be found in any of the common dictionaries before his time. But the English tongue is not arrived to such a degree of perfection, as to make us apprehend any thoughts of its decay ; and if it were once refined to a certain standard, perhaps there might be ways found out to fix it for ever, or at least till we were invaded and made a conquest by some other state ; and even then our best writings might probly be preserved with care, and grow into esteem, and the authors have a chance for immortality.

But without such great revolutions as these (to which we are, I think, less subject than kingdoms upon the continent), I see no absolute necessity why any language should be perpetually changing ; for we find many examples to the contrary. From Homer to Plutarch are above a thousand years ; so long at least the purity of the Greek tongue may be allowed to last, and we know not how

how far before. The Grecians spread their colonies round all the coasts of Asia Minor, even to the Northern parts lying towards the Euxine, in every island of the Egæan sea, and several others in the Mediterranean; where the language was preserved entire for many ages, after they themselves became colonies to Rome, and till they were over-run by the barbarous nations upon the fall of that empire. The Chinese have books in their language above two thousand years old, neither have the frequent conquests of the Tartars been able to alter it. The German, Spanish, and Italian, have admitted few or no changes for some ages past. The other languages of Europe I know nothing of; neither is there any occasion to consider them.

Having taken this compass, I return to those considerations upon our own language, which I would humbly offer your Lordship. The period, wherein the English tongue received most improvement, I take to commence with the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and to conclude with the great rebellion in forty-two. 'Tis true, there was a very ill taste, both of style and wit, which prevailed under King James the first; but that seems to have been corrected in the first years of his successor, who, among many other qualifications of an excellent prince, was a great patron of learning. From the civil war to this present time, I am apt to doubt whether the corruptions in our language have not at least equalled the refinements of it; and these corruptions very few of the best authors in our age have wholly escaped. During the usurpation, such an infusion of enthusiastic jargon prevailed in every writing, as was not shaken off in many years after. To this succeeded that licentiousness which entered with the restoration, and from infecting our religion and morals, fell to corrupt our language; which last was not like to be much improved by those, who at that time made up the court of King Charles the second; either such, who had followed him in his banishment, or who had been altogether conversant in the dialect of those fanatic times; or young men, who had been educated in the same country; so that the court, which used to be the standard of propriety and correctness of speech, was then, and, I think, hath ever since continued the worst school

school in England for that accomplishment; and so will remain, till better care be taken in the education of our young nobility, that they may set out into the world with some foundation of literature, in order to qualify them for patterns of politeness. The consequence of this defect upon our language may appear from the plays, and other compositions written for entertainment with in fifty years past; filled with a succession of affected phrases, and new conceited words, either borrowed from the current style of the court, or from those, who, under the character of men of wit and pleasure, pretended to give the law. Many of these refinements have already been long antiquated, and are now hardly intelligible; which is no wonder, when they were the product only of ignorance and caprice.

I have never known this great town without one or more *dunces* of figure, who had credit enough to give rise to some new word, and propagate it in most conversations, though it had neither humour, nor significancy. If it struck the present taste, it was soon transferred into the plays and current scribbles of the week, and became an addition to our language; while the men of wit and learning, instead of early obviating such corruptions, were too often seduced to imitate and comply with them.

There is another sett of men, who have contributed very much to the spoiling of the English tongue; I mean the poets, from the time of the restoration. These gentlemen, although they could not be insensible how much our language was already overstocked with monosyllables, yet, to save time and pains, introduced that barbarous custom of abbreviating words, to fit them to the measure of their verses; and this they have frequently done so very injudiciously, as to form such harsh unharmonious sounds, that none but a northern ear could endure; they have joined the most obdurate consonants without one intervening vowel, only to shorten a syllable; and their taste in time became so depraved, that what was at first a poetical licence not to be justified, they made their choice, alledging, that the words pronounced at length sounded faint and languid. This was a pretence to take up the same custom in prose! so that most of the books we see now a-days, are full of those manglings and ab-

abbreviations. Instances of this abuse are innumerable: what does your lordship think of the words, *drudg'd*, *disturb'd*, *rebuk'd*, *fledg'd*, and a thousand others every where to be met with in prose as well as verse? Where, by leaving out a vowel to save a syllable, we form so jarring a sound, and so difficult to utter, that I have often wondered how it could ever obtain.

Another cause (and perhaps borrowed from the former) which hath contributed not a little to the maiming of our language, is a foolish opinion, advanced of late years, that we ought to spell exactly as we speak; which, beside the obvious inconvenience of utterly destroying our etymology, would be a thing we should never see an end of. Not only the several towns and counties of England have a different way of pronouncing, but even here in London they clip their words after one manner about the court, another in the city, and a third in the suburbs: and in a few years, it is probable, will all differ from themselves, as fancy or fashion shall direct: all which reduced to writing would entirely confound orthography. Yet many people are so fond of this conceit, that it is sometimes a difficult matter to read modern books and pamphlets; where the words are so curtailed, and varied from their original spelling, that whoever hath been used to plain English, will hardly know them by sight.

Several young men at the universities, terribly possessed with the fear of pedantry, run into a worse extreme, and think all politeness to consist in reading the daily trash sent down to them from hence: this they call *knowing the world*, and *reading men and manners*. Thus furnished they come up to town, reckon all their errors for accomplishments, borrow the newest set of phrases; and if they take a pen into their hands, all the odd words they have picked up in a coffee-house, or a gaming ordinary, are produced as flowers of style; and the orthography refined to the utmost. To this we owe those monstrous productions, which under the name of *trips*, *spies*, *amusements*, and other conceited appellations, have over-run us for some years past. To this we owe that strange race of wits, who tell us, they write to the *humour of the age*. And I wish I could say, these quaint fopperies were wholly absent from graver subjects. In

short

short, I would undertake to shew your lordship several pieces, where the beauties of this kind are so predominant, that, with all your skill in languages, you could never be able either to read or understand them.

But I am very much mistaken, if many of these false refinements among us do not arise from a principle, which would quite destroy their credit, if it were well understood and considered. For I am afraid, my lord, that, with all the real good qualities of our country, we are naturally not very polite. This perpetual disposition to shorten our words, by retrenching the vowels, is nothing else but a tendency to lapse into the barbarity of those Northern nations, from whom we are descended, and whose languages labour all under the same defect. For it is worthy our observation, that the Spaniards, the French, and the Italians, although derived from the same Northern ancestors with ourselves, are with the utmost difficulty taught to pronounce our words, which the Swedes and Danes, as well as the Germans and the Dutch, attain to with ease, because our syllables resemble theirs in the roughness and frequency of consonants. Now, as we struggle with an ill climate to improve the nobler kinds of fruits, are at the expence of walls to receive and reverberate the faint rays of the sun, and fence against the Northern blasts, we sometimes, by the help of a good soil, equal the productions of warmer countries, who have no need to be at so much cost and care. It is the same thing with respect to the politer arts among us; and the same defect of heat which gives a fierceness to our natures, may contribute to that roughness of our language, which bears some analogy to the harsh fruit of colder countries. For I do not reckon that we want a *genius* more than the rest of our neighbours: but your lordship will be of my opinion, that we ought to struggle with these natural disadvantages as much as we can, and be careful whom we employ, whenever we design to correct them, which is a work that has hitherto been assumed by the least qualified hands. So, that if the choice had been left to me, I would rather have trusted the refinement of our language, as far as it relates to sound, to the judgment of the women, than of illiterate court-fops, half-witted poets, and university-boys. For it is plain,

that women in their manner of corrupting words, do naturally discard the consonants, as we do the vowels. What I am going to tell your lordship appears very trifling: that more than once, where some of both sexes were in company, I have persuaded two or three of each to take a pen, and write down a number of letters joined together, just as it came into their heads; and, upon reading this gibberish, we have found that which the men had wrote, by the frequent encountering of rough consonants, to sound like High-Dutch; and the other, by the women, like Italian, abounding in vowels and liquids. Now, though I would by no means give ladies the trouble of advising us in the reformation of our language, yet I cannot help thinking, that since they have been left out of all meetings, except parties at play, or where worse designs are carried on, our conversation hath very much degenerated.

In order to reform our language, I conceive, my lord, that a free judicious choice should be made of such persons, as are generally allowed to be best qualified for such a work, without any regard to quality, party or profession. These, to a certain number at least, should assemble at some appointed time and place, and fix on rules by which they design to proceed. What methods they will take, is not for me to prescribe. Your lordship, and other persons in great employment, might please to be of the number; and I am afraid such a society would want your instruction and example as much as your protection; for I have, not without a little envy, observed of late the style of some great ministers very much to exceed that of any other productions.

The persons who are to undertake this work will have the example of the French before them to imitate, where these have proceeded right, and to avoid their mistakes. Besides the grammar-part, wherein we are allowed to be very defective, they will observe many gross improprieties, which however authorised by practice, and grown familiar, ought to be discarded. They will find many words that deserve to be utterly thrown out of our language, many more to be corrected, and perhaps not a few long since antiquated, which ought to be restored on account of their energy and sound.

But what I have most at heart, is, that some method should be thought on for *ascertaining* and *fixing* our language for ever, after such alterations are made in it as shall be thought requisite. For I am of opinion, that it is better a language should not be wholly perfect, than that it should be perpetually changing; and we must give over at one time or other, or at length infallibly change for the worse, as the Romans did, when they began to quit their *simplicity* of style for affected refinements, such as we meet in Tacitus and other authors; which ended by degrees in many barbarities, even before the Goths had invaded Italy.

The fame of our writers is usually confined to these two islands, and it is hard it should be limited in *time* as much as *place*, by the perpetual variations of our speech. It is your lordship's observation, that if it were not for the Bible and Common-Prayer Book in the vulgar tongue, we should hardly be able to understand any thing that was written among us an hundred years ago; which is certainly true: for those books being perpetually read in churches, have proved a kind of standard for language, especially to the common people. And I doubt, whether the alterations since introduced, have added much to the beauty or strength of the English tongue, though they have taken off a great deal from that *simplicity*, which is one of the greatest perfections in any language. You, my lord, who are so conversant in the sacred writings, and so great a judge of them in their originals, will agree, that no translation our country ever yet produced hath come up to that of the Old and New Testament: and by the many beautiful passages, which I have often had the honour to hear your lordship cite from thence, I am persuaded, that the translators of the Bible were masters of an English style, much fitter for that work than any we see in our present writings; which I take to be owing to the *simplicity* that runs through the whole. Then, as to the greatest part of our *liturgy*, compiled long before the translation of the Bible now in use, and little altered since; there seem to be in it as great strains of true sublime eloquence, as are any where to be found in our language; which every man of good taste will ob-

serve in the *communion-service*, that of *burial*, and other parts.

But when I say, that I would have our language, after it is duly corrected, always to last, I do not mean that it should never be enlarged. Provided that no word, which a society shall give a sanction to, be afterwards antiquated and exploded, they may have liberty to receive whatever new ones they shall find occasion for ; because then the old books will yet be always valuable according to their intrinsic worth, and not thrown aside on account of untelligible words and phrases, which appear harsh and uncouth, only because they are out of fashion. Had the Roman tongue continued vulgar in that city till this time, it would have been absolutely necessary, from the mighty changes that have been made in law and religion, from the many terms of art required in trade and in war, from the new inventions that have happened in the world, from the vast spreading of navigation and commerce, with many other obvious circumstances, to have made great additions to that language ; yet the antients would still have been read and understood with pleasure and ease. The Greek tongue received many enlargements between the time of Homer and that of Plutarch ; yet the former author was probably as well understood in Trajan's time as the latter. What Horace says of *words going off and perishing like leaves, and new ones coming in their place*, is a misfortune he laments, rather than a thing he approves ; but I cannot see why this should be absolutely necessary, or, if it were, what would have become of his *monumentum aere perennius*?

Writing by memory only, as I do at present, I would gladly keep within my depth ; and therefore shall not enter into further particulars. Neither do I pretend more than to shew the usefulness of this design, and to make some general observations, leaving the rest to that society, which I hope will owe its institution and patronage to your lordship. Besides, I would willingly avoid repetition, having about a year ago communicated to the public much of what I had to offer upon this subject, by the hands of an ingenious gentleman, who for a long time did thrice a week divert or instruct the kingdom by his papers ; and is supposed to pursue the same design at pre-

sen

sent under the title of Spectator. This author, who hath tried the force and compass of our language with so much success, agrees entirely with me in most of my sentiments relating to it; so do the greatest part of the men of wit and learning, whom I have had the happiness to converse with; and therefore I imagine that such a society would be pretty unanimous in the main points.

Your Lordship must allow, that such a work as this brought to perfection, would very much contribute to the glory of her Majesty's reign; which ought to be recorded in words more durable than brass, and such as our posterity may read a thousand years hence with pleasure as well as admiration. I always disapproved that false compliment to princes, that the most lasting monument they can have, is the hearts of their subjects. It is indeed their greatest present felicity to reign in their subject's hearts; but these are too perishable to preserve their memories, which can only be done by the pens of able and faithful historians. And I take it to be your lordship's duty, as *prime minister*, to give order for inspecting our language, and rendering it fit to record the history of so great and good a princess. Besides, my Lord, as disinterested as you appear to the world, I am convinced, that no man is more in the power of a prevailing favourite passion than yourself; I mean that desire of true and lasting honour, which you have borne along with you through every stage of your life. To this you have often sacrificed your interest, your ease, and your health: for preserving and increasing this you have exposed your person to secret treachery and open violence. There is not perhaps an example in history of any minister, who in so short a time hath performed so many great things, and overcome so many difficulties. Now, though I am fully convinced, that you fear God, honour your Queen, and love your country, as much as any of your fellow-subjects, yet I must believe, that the desire of fame hath been no inconsiderable motive to quicken you in the pursuit of those actions which will best deserve it. But at the same time I must be so plain as to tell your lordship, that if you will not take some care to settle our language, and put it into a state of continuance, I cannot promise
that

that your memory shall be preserved above an hundred years, farther than by imperfect tradition.

As barbarous and ignorant as we were in former centuries, there were more effectual care taken by our ancestors to preserve the memory of times and persons, than we find in this age of learning and politeness, as we are pleased to call it. The rude Latin of the Monks is still very intelligible; whereas, had their records been delivered down only in the vulgar tongue, so barren and so barbarous, so subject to continual succeeding changes, they could not now be understood, unless by antiquaries, who make it their study to expound them. And we must at this day have been content with such poor abstracts of our English story, as laborious men of low genius would think fit to give us: and even these in the next age would be likewise swallowed up in succeeding collections. If things go on at this rate, all I can promise your lordship, is, that, about two hundred years hence, some painful compiler, who will be at the trouble of studying old language, may inform the world, that in the reign of Queen Anne, Robert Earl of Oxford, a very wise and excellent man, was made *high-treasurer*, and saved his country, which in those days was almost ruined by a *foreign war*, and a *domestic faction*. Thus much he may be able to pick out, and willing to transfer into his new history; but the rest of your character, which I or any other writer may now value ourselves by drawing, and the particular account of the great things done under your ministry, for which you are already so celebrated in most parts of Europe, will probably be dropped, on account of the antiquated style and manner they are delivered in. How then shall any man, who hath a genius for history equal to the best of the ancients, be able to undertake such a work with spirit and chearfulness, when he considers that he will be read with pleasure but a very few years, and in an age or two shall hardly be understood without an interpreter? This is like employing an excellent statuary to work upon mouldering stone. Those, who apply their studies to preserve the memory of others, will always have some concern for their own. And I believe it is for this reason, that so few writers among us of any distinction have turned their thoughts to such a discouraging

discouraging employment: for the best English historian must lie under this mortification, that, when his style grows antiquated, he will be only considered as a tedious relator of facts; and perhaps consulted in his turn among other neglected authors to furnish materials for some future collector.

I doubt your lordship is but ill entertained with a few scattered thoughts upon a subject, that deserves to be treated with ability and care: however, I must beg leave to add a few words more, perhaps not altogether foreign to the same matter. I know not whether that which I am going to say may pass for caution, advice, or reproach, any of which will be justly thought very improper from one in my station to one in yours. However, I must venture to affirm, that if genius and learning be not encouraged under your lordship's administration, you are the most inexcusable person alive. All your other virtues, my Lord, will be defective without this; your affability, candor, and good nature; that perpetual agreeableness of conversation, so disengaged in the midst of such a weight of business and opposition; even your justice, prudence, and magnanimity, will shine less bright without it. Your lordship is universally allowed to possess a very large portion in most parts of literature; and to this you owe the cultivating those many virtues which otherwise would have been less adorned, or in lower perfection. Neither can you acquit yourself of these obligations, without letting the arts in their turn share your influence and protection: besides, who knows but some *true genius* may happen to arise under your ministry, *exortus ut aetherius sol*. Every age might perhaps produce one or two of these to adorn it, if they were not sunk under the censure and obloquy of plodding, servile, imitating pedants: I do not mean by a true genius, any bold writer, who breaks through the rules of decency to distinguish himself by the singularity of his opinions: but one, who upon a deserving subject is able to open new scenes, and discover a vein of true and noble thinking, which never entered into any imagination before: every stroke of whose pen is worth all the paper blotted by hundreds of others in the compass of their lives. I know, my Lord, your friends all offer in your defence,
that,

that, in your private capacity, you never refused your purse and credit to the service and support of learned or ingenious men: and that ever since you have been in public employment, you have constantly bestowed your favours on the most deserving persons. But I desire your lordship not to be deceived: we never will admit of these excuses, nor will allow your private liberality, as great as it is, to atone for your excessive public thrift. But here again I am afraid most good subjects will interpose in your defence, by alledging the desperate condition you found the nation in, and the necessity there was for so able and faithful a steward to retrieve it, if possible, by the utmost frugality. We grant all this, my Lord; but then it ought likewise to be considered, that you have already saved several millions to the public, and that what we ask is too inconsiderable to break into any rules of the strictest good husbandry. The French King bestows about half a dozen pensions to learned men in several parts of Europe, and perhaps a dozen in his own kingdom; which in the whole do probably not amount to half the income of many a private commoner in England, yet have more contributed to the glory of that prince, than any million he hath otherwise employed. For learning, like all true merit, is easily satisfied; whilst the false and counterfeit is perpetually craving, and never thinks it hath enough. The smallest favour given by a great prince, as a mark of esteem, to reward the endowments of the mind, never fails to be returned with praise and gratitude, and loudly celebrated to the world. I have known some years ago several pensions given to particular persons (how deservedly I shall not enquire), any one of which, if divided into smaller parcels, and distributed by the crown, to those who might upon occasion distinguish themselves by some extraordinary production of wit or learning, would be amply sufficient to answer the end. Or if any such persons were above money (as every great *genius* certainly is, with very moderate conveniences of life), a medal, or some mark of distinction, would do full as well.

But I forget my province, and find myself turning projector before I am aware; although it be one of the last characters under which I should desire to appear before

LORD HIGH TREASURER. 361

fore your Lordship, especially when I have the ambition of aspiring to that of being, with the greatest respect and truth,

MY LORD,,

Your Lordship's

most obedient, most obliged,

and most humble servant,

London, Feb. 22.

1711-12.

Some

Some FREE THOUGHTS upon the PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS*.

Written in the year 1714.

WHATEVER may be thought or practised by profound politicians, they will hardly be able to convince the reasonable part of mankind, that the most plain, short,

* About a month before the demise of Queen Anne, the Dean having laboured to reconcile the ministers to each other without success, retired to the house of a friend in Berkshire, and never saw them more. But, during this retreat, he wrote the following treatise, which he thought might be of some use even in that juncture, and sent it up to London to be printed: but, upon some difference in opinion between the author and the late Lord Bolingbroke, the publication was delayed till the Queen's death; and then he recalled his copy. It was afterwards placed in the hands of the late Alderman Barber, from whom it was obtained to be printed. The ruin of the ministry by this animosity among themselves, was long foreseen and foretold by Swift; and it appears by Lord Bolingbroke's letter to Sir William Wyndham, that in his heart he renounced his friendship for Oxford long before the conclusion of the peace, though it did not appear till afterwards. "The peace", says he, "which had been judged to be the only solid foundation whereupon we could erect a Tory system, and yet when it was made we found ourselves at a stand; nay, the very work, which ought to have been the basis of our strength, was in part demolished before our eyes, and we were stoned with the ruins of it." This event probably rendered the disunion of the ministry visible; some principally endeavouring to secure themselves, some still labouring to establish at all events the party they had espoused, which saw nothing but "increase of mortification and nearer approaches to ruin". And it is not to be wondered, that when this treatise was

written

short, easy, safe, and lawful way to any good end is not more eligible, than one directly contrary in some or all of these qualities. I have been frequently assured by great ministers, that politics were nothing but common sense; which, as it was the only true thing they spoke, so it was the only thing they could have wished I should not believe. God hath given the bulk of mankind a capacity to understand reason when it is fairly offered; and by reason they would easily be governed, if it were left to their choice. Those princes in all ages, who were most distinguished for their mysterious skill in government, found by the event, that they had ill consulted their own quiet, or the ease and happiness of their people; nor hath posterity remembered them with honour; such as Lyfander and Philip among the Greeks, Tiberius in Rome, Pope Alexander the sixth and his son Cæsar Borgia, queen Catherine de Medicis, Philip the second of Spain, with many others. Nor are examples less frequent of ministers, famed for men of deep intrigue, whose politics have produced little more than murmurings, factions, and discontents, which usually terminated in the disgrace and ruin of the authors.

I can recollect but three occasions in a state, where the talents of such men may be thought necessary; I mean in a state where the prince is obeyed and loved by his subjects: first, in the negociation of a peace; secondly, in adjusting the interests of our own country with those of the nations round us, watching the several motions of our neighbours and allies, and preserving a due balance among them: lastly, in the management of parties and factions at home. In the first of these cases I have often heard it observed, that plain good sense and a firm adherence to the point, have proved more effectual than all those arts, which I remember a great foreign minister us-

written, the Dean's attempts to reconcile his friends were unsuccessful; for Bolingbroke declares, that he abhorred Oxford to such a degree, that he would rather have suffered banishment or death, than have taken measures in concert with him to have avoided either.
Hawkes.

When you have read this pamphlet, *digito compeſce labellum*. Or-
rery.

ed in contempt to call the *spirit of negotiating*. In the second case much wisdom and a thorough knowledge in affairs, both foreign and domestic, are certainly required: after which I know no talents necessary besides method and skill in the common forms of business. In the last case, which is that of managing parties, there seems indeed to be more occasion for employing this gift of the lower politics, whenever the tide runs high against the court and ministry, which seldom happens under any tolerable administration, while the true interest of the nation is pursued. But, here in England (for I do not pretend to establish maxims of government in general) while the prince and ministry, the clergy, the majority of landed-men, and bulk of the people, appear to have the same views and the same principles, it is not obvious to me, how those at the helm can have many opportunities of shewing their skill in mystery and refinement, besides what themselves think fit to create.

I have been assured by men long practised in business, that the secrets of court are much fewer than we generally suppose; and I hold it for the greatest secret of court, that they are so: because the first springs of great events, like those of great rivers, are often so mean and so little, that in decency they ought to be hid: and therefore ministers are so wise to leave their proceedings to be accounted for by reasoners at a distance, who often mould them into systems, that do not only go down very well in the coffee-house, but are supplies for pamphlets in the present age, and may probably furnish materials for memoirs and histories in the next.

It is true indeed, that even those who are very near the court, and are supposed to have a large share in the management of public matters, are apt to deduct wrong consequences, by reasoning upon the causes and motives of those actions wherein themselves are employed. A great minister puts you a case, and asks your opinion, but conceals an essential circumstance, upon which the whole weight of the matter turns; then he despiseth your understanding for counselling him no better, and concludes he ought to trust entirely to his own wisdom. Thus he grows to abound in secrets and reserves, even towards those, with whom he ought to act in the greatest confidence

dence and concert; and thus the world is brought to judge, that whatever be the issue and event, it was all foreseen, contrived, and brought to pass by some master-stroke of his politics.

I could produce innumerable instances, from my own memory and observation, of events imputed to the profound skill and address of a minister, which in reality were either the mere effect of negligence, weakness, humour, passion, or pride, or, at best, but the natural course of things left to themselves.

During this very session of parliament, a most ingenious gentleman, who hath much credit with those in power, would needs have it, that in the late dissensions at court, which grew too high to be any longer a secret, the whole matter was carried with the utmost dexterity on one side, and with manifest ill conduct on the other. To prove this, he made use of the most plausible topics, drawn from the nature and disposition of the several persons concerned, as well as of her majesty; all which he knows as much of as any man: and gave me a detail of the whole, with such an appearance of probability, as committed to writing would pass for an admirable piece of secret history. Yet I am at the same time convinced by the strongest reasons, that the issue of those dissensions, as to the part they had in the court and house of lords, was partly owing to very different causes, and partly to the situation of affairs, from whence in that conjuncture they could not easily terminate otherwise than they did, whatever unhappy consequences they may have for the future.

In like manner I have heard a physician pronounce with great gravity, that he had cured so many patients of malignant fevers, and as many more of the small pox; whereas in truth nine parts in ten of those who recovered, owed their lives to the strength of nature and a good constitution, while such a one happened to be their doctor.

But, while it is so difficult to learn the springs and motives of some facts, and so easy to forget the circumstances of others, it is no wonder they should be so grossly misrepresented to the public, by curious inquisitive heads, who proceed altogether upon conjectures, and in reasoning upon affairs of state, are sure to be mistaken, by

searching too deep. And as I have known this to be the frequent error of many others, so I am sure it hath been perpetually mine, whenever I have attempted to discover the cause of political events by refinement and conjecture; which I must acknowledge hath very much abated my veneration for what they call *arcana imperii*, whereof I dare pronounce, that the fewer there are in any administration, it is just so much the better.

What I have hitherto said, hath by no means been intended to detract from the qualities requisite in those, who are trusted with the administration of public affairs; on the contrary, I know no station of life, where great abilities and virtues of all kinds are so highly necessary, and where the want of any is so quickly or universally felt. A great minister hath no virtue for which the public may not be the better, nor any defect by which the public is not certainly a sufferer. I have known more than once or twice, within four years past, an omission, in appearance very small, prove almost fatal to a whole scheme, and very hardly retrieved. It is not always sufficient for the person at the helm, that he is intrepid in his nature, free from any tincture of avarice or corruption, and that he hath great natural and acquired abilities.

I never thought the reputation of much secrecy was a character of any advantage to a minister, because it put all other men upon their guard to be as secret as he, and was consequently the occasion that persons and things were always misrepresented to him: because likewise, too great an affectation of secrecy is usually thought to be attended with those little intrigues and refinements, which among the vulgar denominate a man a great politician; but among others is apt, whether deservedly or no, to acquire the opinion of cunning: a talent, which differs as much from the true knowledge of government, as that of an attorney from an able lawyer. Neither indeed am I altogether convinced, that this habit of multiplying secrets may not be carried on, so far as to stop that communication which is necessary, in some degree, among all who have any considerable part in the management of public affairs: because I have observed the inconveniences arising from a want of love between those who were

to give directions, to *have* been of as ill consequence as any that could happen from the discovery of secrets. I suppose, when a building is to be erected, the model may be the contrivance only of one head ; and it is sufficient that the under-workmen be ordered to cut stones into certain shapes, and place them in certain positions : but the several master-builders must have some general knowledge of the design, without which they can give no orders at all. And, indeed, I do not know a greater mark of an able minister, than that of rightly adapting the several faculties of men ; nor is any thing more to be lamented than the impracticableness of doing this in any great degree under our present circumstances, while so many shut themselves out by adhering to a faction, and while the court is enslaved to the impatience of others, who desire to sell their vote, or their interest, as dear as they can. But whether this hath not been submitted to more than was necessary, whether it hath not been dangerous in the example, and pernicious in the practice, I will leave to the enquiry of those who can better determine.

It may be matter of no little admiration to consider in some lights the state of affairs among us for four years past. The queen finding herself, and the majority of her kingdom, grown weary of the avarice and insolence, the mistaken politics, and destructive principles of her former ministers ; calls to the service of the public another set of men, who, by confession of their enemies, had equal abilities at least with their predecessors ; whose interest made it necessary for them (although their inclinations had been otherwise) to act upon those maxims which were most agreeable to the constitution in church and state ; whose birth and patrimonies gave them weight in the nation ; and who (I speak of those who were to have the chief part in affairs) had long lived under the strictest bonds of friendship : with all these advantages, supported by a vast majority of the landed interest, and the inferior clergy almost to a man, we have several times seen the present administration in the greatest distress, and very near the brink of ruin, together with the cause of the church and monarchy committed to their charge ; neither doth it appear to me at the minute I am now writ-

ting, that their power or duration are upon any tolerable foot of security : which I do not so much impute to the address and industry of their enemies, as to some failures among themselves, which I think have been full as visible in their causes as their effects.

Nothing hath given me greater indignation than to behold a ministry, who came with the advantages I have represented, acting ever since upon the defensive in the House of Lords with a majority on their side, and, instead of calling others to account, as it was reasonably expected, mispending their time and losing many opportunities of doing good, because a struggling faction kept them continually in play. This courage among the adversaries of the court was inspired into them by various incidents, for every one of which I think the *ministers*, or, (if that was the case) the *minister* alone is to answer.

For, first, that race of politicians, who in the cant phrase are called the *whimsicals* *, was never so numerous, or at least so active, as it hath been since the great change at court ; many of those who pretended wholly to be in with the principles upon which her majesty and her new servants proceeded, either absenting themselves with the utmost indifference, in those conjunctures whereon the whole cause depended, or siding directly with the enemy.

I very well remember, when this ministry was not above a year old, there was a little murmuring among such as are called the higher Tories or Churchmen, that quicker progress was not made in removing those of the discontented party out of employments. I remember likewise, the reasonings upon this matter were various, even among many who were allowed to know a good deal of the inside of the court : some supposed the queen was at first prevailed on to make that great change, with

* Whimsicals were Tories who had been eager for the conclusion of the peace till the treaties were perfected, then they could come up to no direct approbation. In the clamour raised about the danger of the succession, they joined the Whigs, and declared directly against their party, and affected in most other points a most glorious neutrality. See Bolingbroke's letter to Wyndham, p. 48. 49.

no other view than that of acting for the future upon a *moderating scheme*, in order to reconcile both parties; and I believe there might possibly have been some grounds for this supposition. Others conceived the employments were left undisposed of, in order to keep alive the hopes of many more impatient candidates than ever could be gratified. This hath since been looked on as a very high strain of politics, and to have succeeded accordingly; because it is the opinion of many, that the numerous pretenders to places would never have been kept in order, if all expectation had been cut off. Others were yet more refined; and thought it neither wise nor safe wholly to extinguish all opposition from the other side; because in the nature of things it was absolutely necessary that there should be parties in an English parliament; and a faction already odious to the people might be suffered to continue with less danger than any new one that could arise. To confirm this, it was said, that the majority in the House of Commons was too great on the side of the High-church, and began to form themselves into a body (by the name of the October-club) in order to put the ministry under subjection. Lastly, the danger of introducing too great a number of unexperienced men at once into office, was urged as an irrefragable reason for making changes by slow degrees. To discard an able officer from an employment, or part of a commission, where the revenue or trade were concerned, for no other reason but differing in some principles of government, might be of terrible consequence.

However, it is certain, that none of these excuses were able to pass among men, who argued only from the principles of general reason. For first, they looked upon all schemes of comprehension to be as visionary and impossible in the state, as in the church. Secondly, while the spirit raised by the trial of Dr. Sacheverel continued in motion, men were not so keen upon coming *in* themselves, as to see their enemies *out*, and deprived of all assistance to do mischief: and it is urged further, that this general ambition of hunting after places, grew chiefly from seeing them so long undisposed of, and from too general an encouragement by promises, to all who were thought capable of doing either good or hurt. Thirdly,
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the fear of creating another party in case the present faction were wholly subdued, was in the opinion of plain men, and in regard to the situation of our affairs, too great a sacrifice of the nation's safety to the *genius* of politics; considering how much was to be done, and how little time might probably be allowed. Besides, the divisions of a House of Commons into *court* and *country* parties, which was the evil they seemed to apprehend, could never be dangerous to a good ministry, who had the true interest and constitution of their country at heart: as for the apprehension of too great a majority in the House of Commons, it appeared to be so vain, that upon some points of importance the court was hardly able to procure one. And the October-club; which appeared so formidable at first to some politicians, proved in the sequel to be the chief support of those who suspected them. It was likewise very well known that the greatest part of those men, whom the former ministry left in possession of employments, were loudly charged with insufficiency or corruption, over and above their obnoxious tenets in religion and government; so that it would have been a matter of some difficulty to make a worse choice; besides, that plea for keeping men of factious principles in employment upon the score of their abilities, was thought to be extended a little too far, and construed to take in all employments whatsoever, although many of them required no more abilities than would serve to qualify a gentleman-usher at court: so that this last excuse for the very slow steps made in disarming the adversaries of the crown, was allowed indeed to have more plausibility, but less truth than any of the former.

I do not here pretend to condemn the counsels or actions of the present ministry: their safety and interest are visibly united with those of the public; they are persons of unquestionable abilities, altogether unsuspected of avarice or corruption, and have the advantage to be further recommended by the dread and hatred of the opposite faction. However, it is manifest that the zeal of their friends hath been cooling towards them for above two years past; they have been frequently deserted or distressed upon the most pressing occasions, and very near giving up in despair: their characters have been often
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treated with the utmost barbarity and injustice in both houses, by scurrilous and enraged orators; while their nearest friends, and even those who must have a share in their disgrace, never offered a word in their vindication.

When I examine with myself what occasions the ministry may have given for this coldness, inconstancy, and discontent among their friends, I at the same time recollect the various conjectures, reasonings and suspicions, which have run so freely for three years past, concerning the designs of the court: I do not only mean such conjectures, as are born in a coffee-house, or invented by the malice of a party, but also the conclusions (however mistaken) of wise and good men, whose quality and station fitted them to understand the reason of public proceedings, and in whose power it lay to recommend or disgrace an administration to the people. I must therefore take the boldness to assert, that all these discontents, how ruinous soever they may prove in the consequences, have most unnecessarily arisen from the want of a due communication and concert. Every man must have a light sufficient for the length of the way he is appointed to go; there is a degree of confidence due to all stations; and a petty constable will neither act cheerfully or wisely without that share of it which properly belongs to him: although the main spring in a watch be out of sight, there is an intermediate communication between it and the smallest wheel, or else no useful motion could be performed. This reserved mysterious way of acting, upon points where there appeared not the least occasion for it, and towards persons, who at least, in right of their posts, expected a more open treatment, was imputed to some hidden design, which every man conjectured to be the very thing he was most afraid of. Those who professed the height of what is called the church principle, suspected, that a *comprehension* was intended, wherein the *moderate* men on both sides might be equally employed. Others went farther, and dreaded such a comprehension, as directly tending to bring the old exploded principles and persons once more into play. Again, some affected to be uneasy about the succession, and seemed to think there was a view of introducing that person, whatever he is, who pretends to claim the crown by inheritance. Others,

thers, especially of late, surmised on the contrary, that the demands of the house of Hanover were industriously fomented by some in power, without the privity of the — or —. Now, although these accusations were too inconsistent to be all of them true, yet they were maliciously suffered to pass, and thereby took off much of that popularity, which those at the helm stood in need of, to support them under the difficulties of a long perplexing negotiation, a daily addition of public debts, and an exhausted treasury.

But the effects of this mystical manner of proceeding did not end here: for the late dissensions between the great men at court (which have been, for some time past, the public entertainment of every coffee-house) are said to have arisen from the same fountain; while on one side very great reserve, and certainly very great resentment on the other *, if we may believe general report (for I pretend to know no farther) have inflamed animosities to such a height, as to make all reconciliation impracticable. Supposing this to be true, it may serve for a great lesson of humiliation to mankind, to behold the habits and passions of men, otherwise highly accomplished, triumphing over interest, friendship, honour, and their own personal safety, as well as that of their country, and probably of a most gracious princess, who hath intrusted it to them. A ship's crew quarrelling in a storm, or while their enemies are within gun-shot, is but a faint idea of this fatal infatuation: of which, although it be hard to say enough, some people may think perhaps I have already said too much.

Since this unhappy incident, the desertion of friends and loss of reputation have been so great, that I do not see how the ministers could have continued many weeks in their stations, if their opposers of all kinds had agreed about the methods by which they should be ruined: and their preservation hitherto seems to resemble his, who had two poisons given him together of contrary operations.

It may seem very impertinent in one of my level to

* Lord Oxford's reserve was the cause of Bolingbroke's resentment. *Hawkes.*

point out to those who sit at the helm, what course they ought to steer. I know enough of courts to be sensible, how mean an opinion great ministers have of most men's understanding; to a degree, that in any other science would be called the grossest pedantry. However, unless I offer my sentiments in this point, all I have hitherto said, will be to no purpose.

The general wishes and desires of a people are perhaps more obvious to other men, than to ministers of state. There are two points of the highest importance, wherein a very great majority of the kingdom appear perfectly hearty and unanimous. First, that the church of England should be preserved entire in all her rights, powers and privileges; all doctrines relating to government discouraged, which she condemns; all schisms, sects and heresies discountenanced and kept under due subjection, as far as consists with the lenity of our constitution; her open enemies (among whom I include at least dissenters of all denominations) not trusted with the smallest degree of civil or military power; and her secret adversaries, under the names of Whigs, Low-church, Republicans, Moderation-men and the like, receive no marks of favour from the crown, but what they should deserve by a sincere reformation.

Had this point been steadily pursued in all its parts, for three years past, and asserted as the avowed resolution of the court, there must probably have been an end of faction, which hath been able ever since with so much vigour to disturb and insult the administration. I know very well, that some refiners pretend to argue for the usefulness of parties in such a government as ours: I have said something of this already, and have heard a great many idle wise topics upon the subject. But I shall not argue that matter at present; I suppose, if a man thinks it necessary to *play* with a *serpent*, he will chuse one of a kind that is least mischievous; otherwise, although it appears to be crushed, it may have life enough to sting him to death. So, I think it is not safe tampering with the present faction, at least at this juncture: first, because their principles and practices have been already very dangerous to the constitution in church and state: secondly, because they are highly irritated with the loss of their power,

power, full of venom and vengeance, and prepared to execute every thing that rage or malice can suggest : but principally, because they have prevailed by misrepresentations and other artifices, to make the successor look upon them as the only persons he can trust : upon which account they cannot be too soon, or too much disabled : neither will England ever be safe from the attempts of this wicked confederacy, until their strength and interest shall be so far reduced, that for the future it shall not be in the power of the crown, although in conjunction with any rich and factious body of men, to chuse an ill majority in the House of Commons.

One step very necessary to this great work, will be to regulate the army, and chiefly those troops which in their turns have the care of her Majesty's person; who are most of them fitter to guard a prince under on *high court of justice*, than seated on the throne. The peculiar hand of Providence hath hitherto preserved her Majesty, encompassed, whether sleeping or travelling, by her enemies: but since religion teacheth us, that Providence ought not to be tempted, it is ill-venturing to trust that precious life any longer to those, who, by their public behaviour and discourse, discover their impatience to see it at an end; that they may have liberty to be the instruments of glutting at once the revenge of their patrons and their own. It should be well remembered, what a satisfaction these gentlemen (after the example of their betters) were so sanguine to express upon the Queen's last illness at Windsor, and what threatenings they used of refusing to obey their general, in case that illness had proved fatal. Nor do I think it a want of charity to suspect, that, in such an evil day, an enraged faction would be highly pleased with the power of the sword, and with great connivance leave it so long unsheathed, until they were got rid of their most formidable adversaries. In the mean time it must be a very melancholy prospect, that, whenever it shall please God to visit us with this calamity, those who are paid to be defenders of the civil power, will stand ready for any acts of violence, that a Junto, composed of the greatest enemies to the constitution, shall think fit to enjoin them.

The other point of great importance is the security of
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protestant succession in the house of Hanover : not from any partiality to that illustrious house, further than as it hath had the honour to mingle with the blood royal of England, and is the nearest branch of our legal line reformed from popery. This point hath one advantage over the former, that both parties profess to desire the same blessing for posterity, but differ about the means of securing it. From whence it hath come to pass, that the protestant succession, in appearance the desire of the whole nation, hath proved the greatest topic of slander, jealousy, suspicion and discontent.

I have been so curious as to ask several acquaintances among the opposite party, whether they, or their leaders, did really suspect there had been ever any design in the ministry to weaken the succession in favour of the *pretender*, or of any other person whatsoever. Some of them freely answered in the negative : others were of the same opinion, but added, they did not know what might be done in time, and upon farther provocations : others again seemed to believe the affirmative, but could never produce any plausible grounds for their belief. I have likewise been assured by a person of some consequence, that, during a very near and constant familiarity with the great men at court for four years past, he never could observe, even in those hours of conversation where there is usually least restraint, that one word ever passed among them to shew a dislike to the present settlement ; although they would sometimes lament, that the false representation of their's and the kingdom's enemies had made some impressions in the mind of the successor. As to my own circle of acquaintance, I can safely affirm, that, excepting those who are *nonjurors* by profession, I have not met with above two persons who appeared to have any scruples concerning the present limitation of the crown. I therefore think it may very impartially be pronounced, that the number of those, who wish to see the son of the abdicated prince upon the throne, is altogether inconsiderable. And further, I believe it will be found, that there are none who so much dread any attempt he shall make for the recovery of his imagined rights, as the Roman Catholics of England ; who love their freedom and properties too well to desire his en-

trance by a French army, and a field of blood; who must continue upon the same foot if he changeth his religion, and must expect to be the first and greatest sufferers if he should happen to fail.

As to the person of this nominal prince, he lies under all manner of disadvantages: the vulgar imagine him to have been a child imposed upon the nation, by the fraudulent zeal of his parents and their bigotted counsellors; who took special care, against all the rules of common policy, to educate him in their hateful superstition, suckled in with his milk and confirmed in his manhood, too strong to be now shaken by Mr Lesley*; and a counterfeit conversation will be too gross to pass upon the kingdom, after what we have seen and suffered from the like practice in his father. He is likewise said to be of weak intellectuals, and an unsound constitution: he was treated contemptibly enough by the young princes of France, even during the war; is now wholly neglected by that crown, and driven to live in exile upon a small exhibition: he is utterly unknown in England, which he left in the cradle: his father's friends are most of them dead, the rest antiquated or poor. Six and twenty years have almost past since the *revolution*, and the bulk of those who are now most in action, either at court, in parliament, or public offices, were then boys at school or the universities, and look upon that great change to have happened during a period of time for which they are not accountable. The logic of the highest tories is now, that this was the establishment they found, as soon as they arrived to a capacity of judging; that they had no hand in turning out the late king, and therefore have no crime to answer for, if it were any: that the inheritance to the crown is fixed in pursuance of laws made ever since their remembrance, by which all papists are excluded, and they have no other rule to go by: that they will no more dispute King William the *third's* title, than King William

* Lesley was a nonjuring clergyman, who wrote a letter from Barleduc in Lorraine, the place of the pretender's residence, addressed to a member of parliament in London, in praise and on behalf of his prince. The letter was printed, and publicly handed about in London. *Hawkes.*

the *first's*; since they must have recourse to history for both: that they have been instructed in the doctrines of passive obedience, non-resistance and hereditary-right, and find them all necessary for preserving the present establishment in church and state, and for continuing the succession in the house of Hanover, and must, in their own opinion, renounce all those doctrines, by setting up any other title to the crown. This, I say, seems to be the political creed of all the high-principled men I have for some time met with of forty years old and under; which although I do not pretend to justify in every part, yet I am sure it sets the Protestant succession upon a much firmer foundation, than all the indigested schemes of those who profess to act upon what they call *revolution-principles*.

Neither should it perhaps be soon forgotten, that, during the greatest licentiousness of the press, while the sacred character of the Queen was every day insulted in factious papers and ballads, not the least reflecting insinuation ever appeared against the Hanover family, whatever occasion was offered to intemperate pens, by the rashness or indiscretion of one or two ministers from thence.

From all these considerations, I must therefore lay it down as an uncontestable truth, that the succession to these kingdoms in the illustrious house of Hanover, is as firmly secured as the nature of the thing can possibly admit; by the oaths of all those who are intrusted with any office, by the very principles of those who are termed the *high-church*, by the general inclinations of the people, by the insignificance of that person who claims it from inheritance, and the little assistance he can expect, either from princes abroad, or adherents at home.

However, since the virulent opposers of the queen and her administration, have so far prevailed by their emissaries at the court of Hanover, and by their practices upon one or two ignorant, unmannerly *messengers* from thence, as to make the *elector* desire some farther security, and send over a *memorial* here to that end: the great question is, how to give reasonable satisfaction to his highness, and (what is infinitely of greater consequence) at the same time, consult the honour and safety of the queen, whose quiet *possession* is of much more consequence to us

of the present age, than his *reversion*. The substance of his *memorial*, if I retain it right, is to desire that some one of his family might live in England, with such a maintenance as is usual to those of the royal blood, and that certain *titles* should be conferred upon the rest, according to antient custom. The *memorial* doth not specify which of the family should be invited to reside here; and if it had, I believe however, her majesty would have looked upon it as a circumstance left to her own choice.

But, as all this is most manifestly unnecessary in itself, and only in compliance with the mistaken doubts of a presumptive heir; so the nation would (to speak in the language of Mr. Steel) EXPECT, that her majesty should be made perfectly easy from that side for the future; no more to be alarmed with apprehensions of *visits* or *demands of writs*, where * she hath not thought fit to give any *invitation*. The nation would likewise expect, that there should be an end of all private commerce between that court and the leaders of a party here; and, that his electoral *highness* should *declare* himself entirely satisfied with all her majesty's proceedings, her treaties of peace and commerce, her alliances abroad, her choice of ministers at home, and particularly in her most gracious condescensions to his request: that he would upon all proper occasions, and in the most public manner, discover his utter dislike of factious persons and principles, but especially of that party, which, under the pretence or shelter of his protection, hath so long disquieted the kingdom: and lastly, that he would acknowledge the goodness of the queen, and justice of the nation, in so fully securing the succession to his family.

It is indeed a problem which I could never comprehend, why the court of Hanover, who have all along thought themselves so perfectly secure in the affections,

* Baron Schutz, envoy extraordinary from the elector of Hanover, demanded a *writ* for the Electoral Prince to sit in the house of peers as Duke of Cambridge, and it was expected, that his Highness would have made a visit to the court of London.
Hawkes.

the principles, and the professions of the *low-church* party, should not have endeavoured, according to the usual politics of princes, to gain over those who were represented as their enemies; since these supposed enemies had made so many advances, were in possession of all the powers, had framed the very settlement to which that illustrious family owes its claim; had all of them abjured the pretender; were now employed in the great offices of state, and composed a majority in both houses of parliament. Not to mention, that the queen herself, with the bulk of the landed gentry and commonalty throughout the kingdom, were of the number. This, one would think, might be a strength sufficient not only to *obstruct* but to *bestow* a succession: and since the presumed heir could not but be perfectly secure of the other party, whose greatest avowed grievance was the pretended danger of his future rights; it might therefore surely have been worth his while, to have made at least one step towards cultivating a fair correspondence with the power in possession. Neither could those, who are called his friends, have blamed him, or with the least decency enter into any engagements for defeating his title.

But why may not the reasons of this proceeding in the *elector* be directly contrary to what is commonly imagined? Methinks I could endeavour to believe, that his highness is thoroughly acquainted with both parties; is convinced, that no true member of the church of England can easily be shaken in his principles of loyalty, or forget the obligation of an oath, by any provocation: That *these* are therefore the people he intends to rely upon, and keeps only fair with the *others* from a *true* notion he hath of their doctrines, which prompt them to forget their duty upon every motive of interest or ambition. If this conjecture be right, his highness cannot sure but entertain a very high esteem of such ministers, who continue to act under the dread and appearance of a successor's utmost displeasure, and the threats of an enraged faction, whom he is supposed alone to favour, and to be guided entirely in his judgment of British affairs and persons by their opinions.

But to return from this digression: the presence of that

infant prince * among us could not, I think, in any sort, be inconsistent with the safety of the queen; he would be in no danger of being corrupted in his principles, or exposed in his person by vicious companions; he could be at the head of no factious clubs and cabals, nor be attended by a hired rabble, which his flatterers might represent as popularity. He would have none of that impatience which the frailty of human nature gives to expecting heirs. There would be no pretence for men to make their court by affecting German modes and *refinements* in dress or behaviour: nor would there be an occasion of insinuating to him, how much more his levee was frequented than the anti-chambers of St. James's. Add to all this, the advantages of being educated in our religion, laws, language, manners, nature of the government, each so very different from those he would leave behind. By which likewise he might be highly useful to his father, if that prince should happen to survive her majesty.

The late King William, who, after his marriage with the lady Mary of England, could have no probable expectation of the crown, and very little even of being a queen's husband (the Duke of York having a young wife), was no stranger to our language or manners, and went often to the chapel of his princess; which I observe the rather, because I could heartily wish the like disposition were in another court, and because it may be disagreeable to a prince to take up new doctrines on a sudden, or speak to his subjects by an interpreter.

An ill-natured or inquisitive man may still, perhaps, desire to press the question farther, by asking, what is to be done, in case it should so happen, that this malevolent working party at home hath credit enough with the court of Hanover, to continue the suspicion, jealousy, and uneasiness there against the queen and her ministry; to make such demands be still insisted on, as are by no means thought proper to be complied with; and in the mean

* The infant prince was the son of the electoral prince of Hanover, who might be chosen to reside here in consequence of the Memorial. See p. 378. *Hawkes*.

time to stand at arms length with her majesty, and in close conjunction with those who oppose her.

I take the answer to be easy ; in all contests, the safest way is to put those we dispute with, as much *in the wrong* as we can. When her Majesty shall have offered such or the like concessions as I have above mentioned, in order to remove those scruples, artificially raised in the mind of the expectant heir, and to divide him from that faction by which he is supposed to have been misled ; she hath done as much as any prince can do, and more than any other would probably do in her case ; and will be justified before God and man, whatever be the event. The equitable part of those who now side against the court, will probably be more temperate ; and, if a due dispatch be made in placing the civil and military power in the hands of such as wish well to the constitution, it cannot be any way for the quiet or interest of a successor to gratify so small a faction, as will probably then remain, at the expence of a much more numerous and considerable part of his subjects. Neither do I see how the principles of such a party, either in religion or government, will prove very agreeable, because I think Luther and Calvin seem to have differed as much as any two among the reformers : and because a German prince will probably be suspicious of those who think they can never depress the prerogative enough.

But supposing, once for all, as far as possible, that the *elector* should utterly refuse to be upon any terms of confidence with the present ministry, and all others of their principles, as enemies to him and the succession ; nor easy with the queen herself, but upon such conditions as will not be thought *consistent with her safety and honour* ; and continue to place all his hopes and trust in the discontented party : I think it were humbly to be wished, that whenever the succession shall take place, the alterations intended by the new prince should be made by *himself*, and not by his *deputies* ; because I am of opinion, that the clause empowering the successor to appoint a *latent unlimited* number, additional to the seven *regents* named in the *act*, went upon a supposition, that the *secret committee* would be of such, whose enmity and contrary principles disposed them to confound the rest. King William

William, whose title was much more controverted than that of her Majesty's successor can ever probably be, did for several years leave the administration of the kingdom in the hands of Lords Justices, during the height of a war, and while the abdicated prince himself was frequently attempting an invasion: from whence one might imagine, that the regents appointed by parliament upon the demise of the crown, would be able to keep the peace during an absence of a *few* weeks without any *colleagues*. However, I am pretty confident that the only reason, why a power was given of chusing *dormant* viceroys, was to take away all pretence of a necessity to invite over *any* of the family here, during her Majesty's life. So that I do not well apprehend what arguments the *elector* can use to insist upon *both*.

To conclude; the only way of securing the constitution in church and state, and consequently this very Protestant succession itself, will be by lessening the power of our domestic adversaries as much as can possibly consist with the lenity of our government; and if this be not speedily done, it will be easy to point where the nation is to fix the blame; for we are well assured, that since the account her Majesty received of the cabals, the triumphs, the insolent behaviour of the whole faction during her late illness at Windsor, she hath been as willing to see them deprived of all power to do mischief, as any of her most zealous and loyal subjects can desire.

THOUGHTS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS.

WE have just enough religion to make us hate, but not enough to make us love one another.

Reflect on things past, as wars, negotiations, factions, &c. we enter so little into those interests, that we wonder how men could possibly be so busy and concerned for things so transitory ; look on the present times, we find the same humour, yet wonder not at all.

A wise man endeavours, by considering all circumstances, to make conjectures, and form conclusions ; but the smallest accident intervening (and in the course of affairs it is impossible to foresee all) does often produce such turns and changes, that at last he is just so much in doubt of events as the most ignorant and unexperienced person.

Positiveness is a good quality for preachers and orators, because he that would obtrude his thoughts and reasons upon a multitude, will convince others the more, as he appears convinced himself.

How is it possible to expect that mankind will take advice, when they will not so much as take warning ?

I forget whether advice be among the lost things which Aristotle says are to be found in the moon ; that and time ought to have been there.

No preacher is listened to but time, which gives us the same train and turn of thought that elder people have tried in vain to put into our heads before.

When we desire or solicit any thing, our minds run wholly on the good side or circumstances of it ; when it is obtained, our minds run wholly on the bad ones.

In a *glass-house* the workmen often sling in a small quantity of fresh coals, which seems to disturb the fire, but very much enlivens it. This seems to allude to a gentle stirring of the passions, that the mind may not languish.

Religion seems to have grown an infant with age, and requires miracles to nurse it as it had in its infancy.

All fits of pleasure are balanced by an equal degree of
pain

pain or languor ; it is like spending this year part of the next year's revenue.

The latter part of a wise man's life is taken up in curing the follies, prejudices, and false opinions he had contracted in the former.

Would a writer know how to behave himself with relation to posterity, let him consider in old books what he finds that he is glad to know, and what omissions he most laments.

Whatever the poets pretend, it is plain they give immortality to none but themselves : it is Homer and Virgil we reverence and admire, not Achilles or Æneas. With historians it is quite the contrary ; our thoughts are taken up with the actions, persons, and events we read, and we little regard the authors.

When a true genius appears in the world, you may know him by this sign, that the dunces are all in confederacy against him.

Men who possess all the advantages of life, are in a state where there are many accidents to disorder and discompose, but few to please them.

It is unwise to punish cowards with ignominy ; for if they had regarded that, they would not have been cowards : death is their proper punishment, because they fear it most.

The greatest inventions were produced in the times of ignorance ; as the use of the *compass*, *gun-powder*, and *printing* ; and by the dullest nation, as the Germans.

One argument to prove that the common relations of *ghosts* and *spectres* are generally false, may be drawn from the opinion held, that spirits are never seen by more than one person at a time ; that is to say, it seldom happens to above one person in a company to be possessed with any high degree of spleen or melancholy.

I am apt to think, that in the day of judgment there will be small allowance given to the wise for their want of morals, and to the ignorant for their want of faith, because both are without excuse. This renders the advantages equal of ignorance and knowledge. But some scruples in the wise, and some vices in the ignorant, will perhaps be forgiven upon the strength of temptation, to each

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The value of several circumstances in story lessens very much by distance of time, though some minute circumstances are very valuable; and it requires great judgment in a writer to distinguish.

It is grown a word of course, for writers to say, This critical age, as divines say, This sinful age.

It is pleasant to observe how free the present age is in laying taxes on the next: *Future ages shall talk of this; this shall be famous to all posterity*: whereas their time and thoughts will be taken up about present things, as ours are now.

The *Cameleon*, who is said to feed upon nothing but air, hath of all animals the nimblest tongue.

When a man is made a spiritual peer he loses his surname; when a temporal, his Christian name.

It is in disputes as in armies, where the weaker side sets up false lights, and makes a great noise, to make the enemy believe them more numerous and strong than they really are.

Some men, under the notions of weeding out prejudices, eradicate virtue, honesty, and religion.

In all well-instituted commonwealths, care has been taken to limit mens possessions; which is done for many reasons, and among the rest, for one which perhaps is not often considered, that when bounds are set to mens desires, after they have acquired as much as the laws will permit them, their private interest is at an end, and they have nothing to do but take care of the public.

There are but three ways for a man to revenge himself of the censure of the world; to despise it, to return the like, or to endeavour to live so as to avoid it: the first of these is usually pretended, the last is almost impossible, the universal practice is for the second.

Herodotus tells us, that in cold countries beasts very seldom have horns, but in hot they have very large ones. This might bear a very pleasant application.

I never heard a finer piece of satire against *lawyers*, than that of *astrologers*, when they pretend by rules of art to tell when a suit will end, and whether to the advantage of the plaintiff or defendant; thus making the matter depend entirely upon the influence of the stars, without the least regard to the merits of the cause.

The

The expression in Apocrypha, about Tobit and his dog following him, I have often heard ridiculed, yet Homer has the same words of Telemachus more than once; and Virgil says something like it of Evander. And I take the book of Tobit to be partly poetical.

I have known some men possessed of good qualities, which were very serviceable to others, but useless to themselves; like a sun-dial on the front of a house, to inform the neighbours and passengers, but not the owner within.

If a man would register all his opinions upon love, politics, religion, learning, &c. beginning from his youth and so go on to old age, what a bundle of inconsistencies and contradictions would appear at last?

What they do in Heaven we are ignorant of; what they do not we are told expressly, that they neither marry, nor are given in marriage.

When a man observes the choice of ladies now-a-days in the dispensing of their favours, can he forbear paying some veneration to the memory of those mares mentioned by Xenophon †, who, while their manes were on, that is, while they were in their beauty, would never admit the embraces of an ass.

It is a miserable thing to live in suspense; it is the life of a spider.

Vive quidem, pende tamen, improba, dixit.

' Ovid. Metam.

The Stoical scheme of supplying our wants by lopping off our desires, is like cutting off our feet when we want shoes.

Physicians ought not to give their judgment of religion, for the same reason that butchers are not admitted to be jurors upon life and death.

The reason, why so few marriages are happy, is because young ladies spend their time in making nets, not in making cages.

If a man will observe as he walks the streets, I believe he will find the merriest countenances in mourning-coaches.

Nothing more unqualifies a man to act with prudence,

† De Re Equestri.

than a misfortune that is attended with shame and guilt.

The power of fortune is confessed only by the miserable; for the happy impute all their success to prudence or merit.

Ambition often puts men upon doing the meanest offices: so climbing is performed in the same posture with creeping.

Ill company is like a dog, who dirties those most whom he loves best.

Censure is the tax a man pays to the public for being eminent.

Although men are accused for not knowing their own weakness, yet perhaps as few know their own strength. It is in men as in soils, where sometimes there is a vein of gold which the owner knows not of.

Satire is reckoned the easiest of all wit: but I take it to be otherwise in very bad times: for it is as hard to satirize well a man of distinguished vices, as to praise well a man of distinguished virtues. It is easy enough to do either to people of moderate characters.

Invention is the talent of youth, and judgment of age; so that our judgment grows harder to please, when we have fewer things to offer it: this goes through the whole commerce of life. When we are old, our friends find it difficult to please us, and are less concerned whether we be pleased or no.

No wise man ever wished to be younger.

An idle reason lessens the weight of the good ones you gave before.

The motives of the best actions will not bear too strict an inquiry. It is allowed, that the cause of most actions, good or bad, may be resolved into the love of ourselves; but the self-love of some men inclines them to please others; and the self-love of others is wholly employed in pleasing themselves. This makes the great distinction between virtue and vice. Religion is the best motive of all actions, yet religion is allowed to be the highest instance of self-love.

When the world has once begun to use us ill, it afterwards

terwards continues the same treatment with less scruple or ceremony, as men do to a whore.

Old men view best at a distance with the eyes of their understanding as well as with those of nature.

Some people take more care to hide their wisdom than their folly.

Arbitrary power is the natural object of temptation to a prince, as wine or women to a young fellow, or a bribe to a judge, or avarice to old age, or vanity to a woman.

Anthony Henley's farmer dying of an *asthma*, said, Well, if I can get this breath once *out*, I'll take care it shall never get *in* again.

The humour of exploding many things under the name of trifles, fopperies, and only imaginary goods, is a very false proof either of wisdom or magnanimity, and a great check to virtuous actions. For instance, with regard to fame, there is in most people a reluctance and unwillingness to be forgotten. We observe even among the vulgar, how fond they are to have an inscription over their grave. It requires but little philosophy to discover and observe that there is no intrinsic value in all this; however, if it be founded in our nature, as an incitement to virtue, it ought not to be ridiculed.

Complaint is the largest tribute heaven receives, and the sincerest part of our devotion.

The common fluency of speech in many men, and most women, is owing to a scarcity of matter, and a scarcity of words; for whoever is a master of language, and hath a mind full of ideas, will be apt in speaking to hesitate upon the choice of both: whereas common speakers have only one set of ideas, and one set of words to clothe them in; and these are always ready at the mouth: so people come faster out of a church when it is almost empty, than when a croud is at the door.

Few are qualified to *shine* in company; but it is in most mens power to be agreeable. The reason therefore, why conversation runs so low at present, is not the defect of understanding, but pride, vanity, ill-nature, affectation, singularity, positiveness, or some other vice, the effect of a wrong education.

To be vain is rather a mark of humility than pride.

Vain

Vain men delight in telling what honours have been done them, what great company they have kept, and the like ; by which they plainly confess that these honours were more than their due, and such as their friends would not believe if they had not been told : whereas a man truly proud thinks the greatest honours below his merit, and consequently scorns to boast. I therefore deliver it as a maxim, That whoever desires the character of a proud man, ought to conceal his vanity.

Law, in a free country, is, or ought to be, the determination of the majority of those who have property in land.

One argument used to the disadvantage of providence, I take to be a very strong one in its defence. It is objected, that storms and tempests, unfruitful seasons, serpents, spiders, flies, and other noxious or troublesome animals, with many more instances of the like kind, discover an imperfection in nature, because human life would be much easier without them : but the design of providence may clearly be perceived in this proceeding. The motions of the sun and moon ; in short, the whole system of the universe, as far as philosophers have been able to discover and observe, are in the utmost degree of regularity and perfection ; but where-ever God hath left to man the power of interposing a remedy by thought or labour, there he hath placed things in a state of imperfection on purpose to stir up human industry, without which life would stagnate, or indeed rather could not subsist at all : *Curis acuum mortalia corda.*

Praise is the daughter of present power.

How inconsistent is man with himself ?

I have known several persons of great fame for wisdom in public affairs and councils governed by foolish servants.

I have known great ministers, distinguished for wit and learning, who preferred none but dunces.

I have known men of great valour cowards to their wives.

I have known men of the greatest cunning perpetually cheated.

I knew three great ministers, who could exactly compute

pute and settle the accounts of a kingdom, but were wholly ignorant of their own œconomy.

The preaching of divines helps to preserve well-inclined men in the course of virtue, but seldom or never reclaims the vicious.

Princes usually make wiser choices than the servants whom they trust for the disposal of places : I have known a prince, more than once, chuse an able minister ; but I never observed that minister to use his credit in the disposal of an employment to a person whom he thought the fittest for it. One of the greatest in this age owned and excused the matter from the violence of parties, and the unreasonableness of friends.

Small causes are sufficient to make a man uneasy, when great ones are not in the way : for want of a *block* he will stumble at a *straw*.

Dignity, high station, or great riches, are in some sort necessary to old men, in order to keep the younger at a distance, who are otherwise too apt to insult them upon the score of their age.

Every man desires to live long ; but no man would be old. Love of flattery in most men proceeds from the mean opinion they have of themselves ; in women from the contrary.

If books and laws continue to increase as they have done for fifty years past, I am in some concern for future ages, how any man will be learned, or any man a lawyer.

Kings are commonly said to have *long hands* ; I wish they had as *long ears*.

Princes in their infancy, childhood, and youth, are said to discover prodigious parts and wit, to speak things that surprise and astonish : strange, so many hopeful princes, and so many shameful kings ! If they happen to die young, they would have been prodigies of wisdom and virtue : if they live, they are often prodigies indeed, but of another sort.

Politics, as the word is commonly understood, are nothing but corruptions, and consequently of no use to a good king, or a good ministry ; for which reason courts are so over-run with politics.

Silenus,

Silenus, the foster-father of Bacchus, is always carried by an *ass*, and has horns on his head. The moral is, that drunkards are led by fools, and have a great chance to be cuckolds.

Venus, a beautiful good-natured lady, was the goddess of love; Juno, a terrible shrew, the goddess of marriage: and they were always mortal enemies.

Those who are against religion, must needs be fools: and therefore we read, that, of all animals, God refused the *first-born* of an *ass*.

A very little wit is valued in a woman, as we are pleased with a few words spoken plain by a parrot.

• A nice man is a man of nasty ideas.

Apollo was held the god of physic, and fender of diseases. Both were originally the same trade, and still continue.

Old men and comets have been revered for the same reason; their long beards, and pretences to foretel events.

A person was asked at court, what he thought of an ambassador, and his train, who were all embroidery and lace, full of bows, cringes, and gestures; he said, it was Solomon's importation, *gold and apes*.

There is a story in Pausanias of a plot for betraying of a city discovered by the braying of an *ass*: the cackling of *geese* saved the *capitol*, and Catiline's conspiracy was discovered by a *whore*. These are the only three animals, as far as I remember, famous in history as *evidences* and *informers*.

Most sorts of diversion in men, children, and other animals, are an imitation of fighting.

Augustus meeting an *ass* with a *lucky name*, foretold himself good fortune. I meet many asses, but none of them have lucky names.

If a man makes me keep my distance, the comfort is, he keeps his at the same time.

Who can deny that all men are violent lovers of truth, when we see them so positive in their errors, which they will maintain out of their zeal to truth, although they contradict themselves every day of their lives?

That was excellently observed, say I, when I read a passage

passage in an author, where his opinion agrees with mine. When we differ, there I pronounce him to be *mistaken*.

Very few men, properly speaking, live at present, but are providing to live another time.

As universal a practice as lying is, and as easy a one as it seems, I do not remember to have heard three good lies in all my conversation, even from those who were most celebrated in that faculty.

The End of the FOURTH VOLUME.

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